

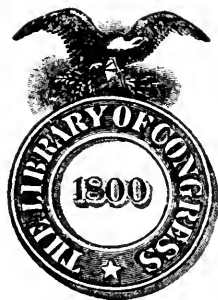
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HISTORY
OF THE
DISCOVERY



OF THE
VALLEY OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

BY
ADOLPHUS M. HART.



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PREFACE.

THERE being no work of the same compass, in the English language, devoted to this interesting branch of History, and it being especially intended for the use of Academies and schools, the author might have dispensed with the necessity of furnishing a preface to make the general reader acquainted with the character and object of the publication. He deems it necessary, however, to remark, that the following pages comprise an abstract of all that has been written in the books and manuscripts that are extant, relating to the early history of this part of the American Continent. The subject is one, which will no doubt be hereafter more fully developed, as the works of other writers are brought to light. In the mean time he has been obliged to rely chiefly on those sources of information, which are found in the scarce French works, that have been published on this subject, as well as in a few of the manuscripts of the early discoverers of the valley of the Mississippi, to which he has been permitted to have access.

St. Louis, February, 1852.

ADOLPHUS M. HART.

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THERE are many historical associations, which cluster around the ancient denizens of Canada, in their efforts to colonize this section of the American Continent, and to rescue it from the savage tribes, who wandered in its pathless deserts. Canada was the gateway, through which the pioneers of civilization entered, to disclose to the world the rich and exhaustless treasures of the West, or rather it may be likened to the portal of a mansion, through which admission was gained to the inner chambers, ornamented with every production of nature, and disclosing to the view, in their gaudy array, pictures, which had never been dreamt of, in the wildest efforts of the human imagination. The poor and ignoble Colonist, who emigrated in the seventeenth century, from the hills and valleys of his native country, with his axe in

his hand, and his gun on his shoulder, to clear the forest and drive away the red-man from those paths, which had been familiar to him from his infancy, exhibits to the view of the philanthropist of the present day, an example of courage and energy, of fortitude amidst danger, and of heroism in his trials, which marks not the course of the modern adventurer. Changeable as are the circumstances of human life, the Canadian colonist remains at the present day, as unchanged as ever. No longer is he required to wage an exterminating warfare, against the aboriginal tribes of the country, no longer does he hunt "the wild beast from his lair," but now with his bible in one hand and his axe in the other, religion goes hand in hand with civilization, and wherever one sees the boundaries of the primeval forest receding from his view, there he observes the glittering spires of the Parish Church, reflecting the rays of the sun in the firmament of heaven, and betokening the soothing influence of religion, over a moral and an industrious people.

Nor can we withhold our meed of praise from those French missionaries, who took their departure from Quebec, and travelled amongst all the Indian tribes, from Hudson's Bay, on the one hand, to the countries along the shores of the Mississippi, on the other. History has commemorated in bright and glowing colors, whatever

events transpired, during the march of the Crusaders to rescue the Holy land from the power of the Saracen, and here the valiant warrior and hero was accompanied by armed hosts, bent on achieving their object and having the means to do so ; but with the missionary who stepped beyond the bounds of civilization, and wandered through trackless deserts, (his only compass, the *blazeed* bark of the pine-tree ; his only food, the fortuitous product of the chase,) history has not done justice to the noble philanthropy, by which they were animated, nor to their ardent devotion for the progress of science and religion, amongst the benighted nations of the earth. The Cross was the emblem of both the Crusader and the missionary, but there must have been something sad and touching, in the effect, which this religious emblem produced on the minds of the Savages, in the midst of the sombre and silent forests of the New World, when it could disarm their fierce hearts and render them sensible to the liveliest feelings of emotion. There *must* be something soothing in religion, when it could mollify the wild passions of man, in the savage state, and make him succumb to its influences. It was owing to the existence of these feelings, that the French missionary was able to establish those friendly relations, which were afterwards entertained towards him, by the denizens of the forest.

The religious doctrines which he inculcated, contributed to draw closer the ties, which connected him with his *neophytes*. Hence the facilities, which he had to penetrate from one cabin to another, from one nation to another, even in countries the most distant. Whether we regard their efforts, as connected with the cause of science or religion, or as tending to develope to the inhabitants of Europe an example of energy and activity in the cause of human civilization, the French missionary of the seventeenth century will always be an object of interest to the student of American history, and will always be considered, as having contributed his share in the regeneration of the aboriginal tribes of this Continent, from the galling chains of superstition and ignorance, by which they were surrounded. The warriors and statesmen of the reign of Louis the Fourteenth fade into insignificance, when put in comparison, with what the genius of a Colbert and a Talon planned, or what the energy and activity of an Allouez and a Marquette accomplished. "Do you not know," said the interpreter of an Indian tribe to these missionaries, "do you not know," said he, "that these distant nations never spare strangers, that the wars, which they carry on, infest their frontiers with hordes of robbers; that the grand river (meaning the Mississippi,) abounds in monsters,

who devour men and animals, and that the excessive heat there causes death.” “We know that,” said they, “we know all, but by the decree of Providence, we have been appointed, as humble missionaries, in the service of God, to disseminate His Holy doctrines, amongst countless tribes, in the deserts of America, and with His will, we shall do our duty.”

Long before what is now known, as “the West” was discovered, several missionaries had penetrated beyond the hunting grounds of the Ottawas and the Abenakies, and had established themselves, along the borders of Lake Huron. The Fathers Breboeuf, Daniel, Jogues, Raimbault and several other members of their order, had established villages along the shores of that Lake, amongst others, Saint Joseph, Saint Michael, Saint Ignace and Sainte Marie. The latter, placed at the outlet of Lake Huron into Lake Erie, was for a long time, the central point of the various missions, in that distant part of the country. Later, in the year 1671, the scattered tribes of the Hurons, fatigued of wandering from country to country, fixed themselves at Machilimackinac,* a place

* The name of this locality is derived from a small Island formerly celebrated in those Countries, from the height of its banks, which might be seen, at a distance of twelve miles. It is situated at the junction of Lakes Huron, Michigan and Superior.

situated on the shores of Lake Superior. This was the first establishment, founded by an European, in the State of Michigan. The Indians who were found there, received from the French, the name of "*Sauteurs*," or "Leapers," on account of their proximity to the Falls of Sainte Marie, known as the "*Sault Sainte Marie*." These Indians belonged to the Algonquin Tribe.

In the space of thirteen years, (from 1634 to 1647,) this extensive territory was visited by eighteen French missionaries, besides others attached to their ministry, who, animated by zeal in the cause of civilization, lent their services to their clerical brethren, in order to reclaim these savages from the depths of ignorance and superstition into which they had cast themselves. The Five Nations, comprising the Iroquois, one of the fiercest tribes that inhabited those countries, were located to the north of Cataraqui, between the River Ottawa and Lake Ontario, but nearer the latter, and the travellers had to pursue their route across that part of the country, which was watered by the tributaries of the Ottawa, the river Akuanagusin, marked on the old charts, being one of those tributaries. At that period, the South of Lake Erie, beyond Buffalo was almost unknown to either the *voyageurs* or the missionaries. It might be interesting to particularize those sections, on the borders of Lake

Erie or Oswego, (as it is marked on an old chart, in the possession of the writer,) which were then inhabited by the Indian tribes, but the geographers of those days in Europe do not seem to be very remarkable for accuracy in fixing the localities of Indian settlements. Fort Sandoski, (Sandusky) now the harbour, where is the termination of the Railroad, connecting Lake Erie with the Ohio, is marked on this map, and the euphonious appellations of Tuscarora, Mingos, Kittawing, Schohorage, Fort Mohican and the *Cross* of Halfway, need only be mentioned, as indicating those parts of the Western States, now teeming with millions of human beings, devoted to the arts of agriculture and commerce, and supplying the world with the products of a soil, which a bounteous Providence has given them, to promote the prosperity and happiness of their fellow-men. In the year 1640, the Fathers Chaumonot and Breboeuf, completed the survey of the valley of the Saint Lawrence, from the foot of Lake Superior to the Ocean. About this period the two missionaries Charles Raimbault and Isaac Jogues left Canada, to visit Lake Huron, and after a pleasant voyage, in which they were struck with the picturesqueness of the scenery along the shores, and amongst the islands of Lake Huron, they arrived in seventeen days at Sault Sainte Marie, where they met with a friendly

reception from about two thousand Indians, assembled there. As they advanced on their journey, the boundaries of the American Continent seemed to recede from them, and they learnt the names of numerous Indian tribes, who, it was said, inhabited the South and West, and amongst others, the "Sioux," whose hunting grounds were situated at a distance of several leagues from Lake Superior. They heard also, of several tribes of warriors, who lived by the products of the soil, but whose race and languages were unknown to them.—"Thus," observes an American author, "from the religious zeal of the French, a cross was erected on the borders of Sault Ste Marie, and on the confines of Lake Superior, from whence they saw the lands of the Sioux, in the valley of the Mississippi, five years, before Elliott of New England had addressed even a single word to the Indians, who were but six miles from the harbor of Boston."

It may be said, that at this period (1646), the safety of the French possessions in America, depended chiefly on the efforts of the missionaries to preserve peace, which they succeeded in doing with all the neighboring Indian tribes, with the exception of the Iroquois. The small French Colony, on the banks of the Saint Lawrence, situated at such an immense distance from the

mother country, with limited resources, and scarcely food to eat would have been annihilated, had it not have been for the friendly alliance, which these missionaries had been able to contract with the native tribes. The Five Nations had already boasted, that they would soon drive Montmagny* and the French to the sea, from whence they came. But the bravery and the courage of these men, who, with the breviary hanging around their necks, and the Cross in their hands, penetrated the innermost recesses of the forest, gave these people a lofty idea of the power and the resources of the nation, to which they belonged. There they were, from the shores of Hudson's Bay, to the gulf of Saint Lawrence and the forests of Michigan, engaged day and night, in the accomplishment of their high and lofty purposes, animating, encouraging and rewarding those, who were disposed to be friendly with them, and intimidating those, whose hostility they were menaced with. Brought up to a life of strict austerity, accustomed to that self-denial, which was enjoined by the sect, to which they belonged, the terrors of a violent death, at the hands of ruthless savages could not deter them from fulfilling the solemn trust, which had devolved upon them, and that

* Governor of New France or Canada.

very confidence which they had in the holiness of their cause, enabled them the more readily to accomplish their duty. Providence smiled benignantly on their efforts, for had it not been that the tribes, whose alliance was courted by the French, feared the hostility of the Iroquois, in all probability they would have rejected the overtures of the missionaries and preferred war to peace.

In the year 1659, (as is related in the narrative of the Missionaries), two young *voyageurs*, or travellers, led by curiosity and the spirit of adventure, joined an Algonquin tribe, and spent the winter on the shores of Lake Superior. With their eyes fixed on the immense solitudes of the West, and wondering what people inhabited those forests, they heard with avidity the glowing accounts, by the Huron tribe, of those "Sioux", warriors and they resolved to visit them. They met on their route with scattered tribes, who had been dispersed by the Iroquois, and they at length arrived in the country of the "Sioux," who, to their surprise, tendered to them the hand of fellowship. They were a numerous tribe, being divided into forty companies, and their manners, whilst they were unlike those of the Algonquins and Hurons, were calculated to impress the minds of the travellers with a favorable opinion of them. The Historian of New France, states, "that they had an

excellent disposition, treated their prisoners with less cruelty than other nations, and had some knowledge of the existence of a Divinity.” These two intrepid adventurers returned to Quebec, in 1660, escorted by sixty Algonquin canoes and Canadian boats, laden with furs and peltries. They confirmed the accounts which two other Frenchmen, who had gone four years before, as far as Lake Michigan, brought back with them, of the numerous tribes, who wandered in those parts, and of the Kristinos, “whose cabins were raised high enough to enable them to see the Great Lakes.”

In the year 1660, Father Mesnard went with the Algonquins to preach the Gospel to the Ottawas and other tribes, on the shores of Lake Superior. He remained about eight months, in a bay which he called Sainte Theres, probably the bay of Kiwina, on the south side of the Lake, where he subsisted for some time, on acorns and the fruit of wild plants. Invited hence by the Hurons, he took his departure for the bay of Cha-gouiamigong or Saint Esprit, on the western side of the Lake, whither the Iroquois did not resort, on account of the distance and the scarcity of provisions. Whilst Mesnard’s *compagnon de voyage*, (fellow-traveller,) was occupied in repairing the canoe, he went into the woods and never re-appeared. This Priest had a great reputa-

tion amongst the savages, for the sanctity of his clerical office, and a few years afterwards, his *soutane* (a garment worn by Priests,) and his breviary were found amongst the "Sioux," who preserved them as relics, and held them in great veneration. The Indians generally were remarkable for their carefulness in preserving whatever belonged to these faithful missionaries, for four or five years after the death of the Fathers Breboeuf and Garnier, whom the Iroquois assassinated, a missionary found in the possession of those barbarians a testament and a prayer-book, which had belonged to them. The old chroniclers, such as Charlevoix, Champlain and others, do not mention, that they preserved any other articles, belonging to the persons they murdered, but the books they had with them. These untutored savages regarded these books in the light of their better spirits, by whose directions these missionaries had been led onwards, in the paths of usefulness they were following.

We have thus far traced the early discoveries in the West, which did not at the period we mentioned (1660) extend beyond the hunting grounds of the "Sioux." But vague suspicions were then entertained of the extent of the country, or the existence of a great River to the West, and the accounts which they received from the Sioux were so uncertain, that there was little in-

ducement for renewed exertions. However, we are about reaching a period (1665) when the spirit of adventure was again in the ascendant, amongst the old French Colonists of America, and when their progress in making discoveries in the West is to be regarded with increased interest. Hitherto we have been narrating the attempts of a few *voyageurs* and missionaries, to penetrate the depths of the American forest, and when we consider the almost insurmountable obstacles, which they encountered and the melancholy fate which many of them met with, at the hands of their ruthless enemies, we cannot withhold from them, our meed of praise at the magnanimity they displayed and the heroism they manifested. But at this period, it pleased Divine Providence to bring other actors on the scenes, other men, who with all the self-devotion and courage, which were found in those who had preceded them, combined qualities, which suited them better for the task they had to perform. Previously to the year 1665, it was religious zeal, which prompted men to risk their lives, in exploring the wilderness, the propagation of their faith, and the knowledge of God, were surely objects holy enough, to engage their attention, but now, to these powerful motives was joined the love of science and the desire to enlighten Europeans, as to the extent of the American Continent

and the resources and capabilities of this extensive country. It was in this year, that Father Allouez, a man who may be justly regarded as the pioneer amongst the discoverers of the West, combining great mental energy, with a steadfastness of purpose, for which he was remarkable, was sent from Canada to explore the regions about Lake Superior. As he approached that vast Inland Sea, and observed the Islands, which dotted its surface, the fertility of its shores, and the gorgeousness and picturesqueness of its scenery, there was something in it dazzling to his imagination. He gazed with wonder at the numerous objects, which struck his attention, and to a mind bent on the pursuits of science, they were doubly interesting to him. To his zeal for religion, and untiring exertions in the cause of human civilization, are we indebted for the first Christian Chapel, which was erected in the solitudes of the West. After a short sojourn at Sainte Theresa, he arrived at Cha-gouia-mi-gong, or Saint Esprit, which had been visited by Father Mesnard in 1660. Here, in what is now known as the northern part of Wisconsin, at a spot, which was not far from the source of the Mississippi, was raised the first Temple in the Western wilderness, in which prayers were offered up, by the humble missionaries of God, to give them strength and confidence in their holy under-

takings, and to vouchsafe to them His protection in the numerous trials they had to undergo.

Father Allouez preached in the Algonquin language to twelve or fifteen tribes, who understood that idiom. His reputation spread abroad, and the warriors of different nations left their hunting grounds to visit the white-man. The *Pouteouatamis*, from the borders of Lake Michigan, the *Outagamis* and the *Sakis* from the deserts of the East, the *Sioux* from the West, the *Kristinos* from the swampy forests of the North, and the *Illinois* of the Prairies, all vied with each other in their eagerness to see and hear the white-man, to learn his discourse and admire his eloquence. It was on one of these occasions, that the Sioux informed Father Allouez, that they protected themselves from the inclemency of the weather, by covering their huts with the skins of wild animals, *and that they inhabited vast prairies on the borders of a great river, which they called "the Mississippi."* It was thus, that the French had the first idea of the existence of a great river, the discovery of which was to immortalize Joliet and his companion.

During the sojourn of Allouez in the country, he pursued his researches amongst the Indian tribes, towards the North, where he discovered the Nipissings, whom the fear of the Iroquois, had driven to that distant re-

gion. He entered into friendly communications with them, and after having travelled two thousand miles, in these extensive forests, suffering hunger, want and fatigue, he directed his steps homewards, overjoyed with the result of his expedition. To his discoveries, and the information, which he imparted to the French Government, was the world indebted for the origin of that expedition, in which a French Priest and a Canadian merchant disclosed to the inhabitants of Europe the existence of a river, which to geographers had been hitherto unknown, and which flowing to the ocean, was destined to bear on its waters the products of a country, unequalled on the face of the globe, for its richness and fertility, and affording to the people of the old world, a home and an asylum, where they could end their days in peace and happiness.

Historians of modern times have done justice to the energy and activity of Joliet and Marquette, and the people of these Western States have erected monuments to their memory, and named towns and villages, in honor of them, but do we not see the hand of Divine Providence pointing to the spot, where was to be consummated the regeneration of the human race, directing these hardy adventurers, as instruments in its service, to avail themselves of the time, and the occasion, which were

most favorable for the accomplishment of its wise purposes: never before, had the Indian tribes been brought to such a state of submission to their European neighbours, as they were at that period. Even the Iroquois, the fiercest of all the tribes, that wandered about the American forests, were on friendly terms with the neighbouring savages, and peace and unanimity seemed to reign in their councils. This was a most auspicious period for making further discoveries, and the French Government took advantage of it.

Allouez, Marquette and Dablon made themselves more celebrated for their scientific discoveries, than for their services, in the cause of religion. The latter was the originator of an expedition in search of the Mississippi; his curiosity had been excited by the glowing descriptions he had heard of the magnificence of the country, bordering on its waters, and in 1669, he resolved to undertake the journey. But his apostolical labors having interfered with the execution of his design, we hear nothing of the result of this expedition, excepting that he reached a tract of country, which was not far off, from the source of the river.

Between 1670 and 1672, Allouez and Dablon pursued their journey as far as Wisconsin and the northern part of the State of Illinois, visiting the Mascoutins, (sup-

posed to be fire worshippers,) the Kickapous, and the Outagamis, on the border of Fox river, (riviere aux Renards) which takes its source to the East of the Mississippi. The brave and intrepid Dablon had resolved to penetrate, if possible, as far as the ocean, and endeavour to seek out a passage to the countries beyond it.

Hitherto, Canada had been governed by officers appointed by the French government, under the name of Governors and Intendants, some of whom had accepted the office, more from considerations of pecuniary interest, arising out of the profitable nature of the fur-trade, than from any other motive, but at this period such men as Colbert and Talon ruled the destinies of the New World, they were men whose minds imbued from their infancy, with a love of science and a desire for the progress of the human race, who saw at once the advantages which would arise, if the discoveries in the West were pushed forward with energy. There were few men like Talon for enterprise and activity of mind. Shrewd, calculating, and a close observer of what was occurring around him, he grasped at the idea of the glory, which awaited him, should he succeed in his endeavours. *His* administration of the government of the French Colonies in America would be crowned with success, if, whilst he was at the head of it, the wealth and commerce of his

country could be increased by the discovery of the Mississippi. These were objects dear to his heart, but there were others which were dearer to him. It was the desire to extend the bounds of civilization, to aid in the development of the resources of this vast country, to forward navigation and promote the scientific knowledge of his fellow country-men. Under his administration, commerce had revived, emigration had increased, and the Indian tribes had learned to respect the power and authority of the French government.

Such was the character of the French Governor, under whose auspices the first expedition started from Quebec, which was successful in discovering the Mississippi. Some writers say, that Marquette was the originator of the project, others attribute it to the genius and foresight of Talon, however that may be, Talon selected Joliet, a merchant residing in Quebec, who had previously travelled amongst the Ottawas, and a man of great experience, energy and activity, to accompany the French missionary in his voyage of discovery. They left Quebec in the year 1673, and reached Fox river in safety. They remained some time at Sainte Theresa, where they were received with every mark of distinction. They asked for two guides, and their request was readily granted. No other European had ever wandered in

that direction, beyond the precincts of the village. On the 10th June, 1673, they took their departure from Sainte Theresa, accompanied by five other Frenchmen and the two Indians, who acted as guides. They carried their bark canoes on their shoulders, to make the short *Portage* (a word in the French language, which signifies a carrying place,) which separates the source of Fox river from the river Wisconsin, which flows to the West. It was at this point, that the two guides, becoming alarmed at the danger of the enterprise, abandoned their fellow-travellers and left them "in an unknown country, in the hands of Providence," floating down a river, in the midst of the profound solitude, which surrounded them. At the expiration of seven days, they entered the Mississippi, of which they had heard so much, and such was their joy at the discovery, that they fell down on their knees and thanked God, that he had brought them to their point of destination. A feeling of awe and solemnity came over them, as they sailed down that majestic river, and every step they took, they were struck with the magnificence of the objects, which surrounded them. In the midst of the silent forests of the New World, with buoyant hopes, and hearts untrammelled by the cares and sorrows of more busy life, they proceeded on their journey, in

the expectation of soon finding an outlet to the ocean. Nor were they greeted at the commencement of their voyage, with the sight of a human being ; there was no sign of any habitation, nothing to indicate the probability of their vicinity to the abodes of man ; save the aquatic birds, that dipped their beaks in the waters, and the howl of some ferocious animal prowling for food, there was no indication of animal life. They had proceeded about sixty leagues, without meeting with any person, when all at once, they observed some footsteps on the sand, on the right bank of the river, and afterwards, a footpath, leading to a prairie. They paused, ere they incurred the risk of meeting with an unknown tribe, in the midst of the forest. Yet they had a mission to fulfil, an object to accomplish. The pause was of short duration. Joliet and Marquette hazarded the interview. Taking the foot-path, they walked six miles, when they reached a settlement on the river Moingona, or the river *des Moines* of the French. They halted and cried out with a loud voice. Four old men came forth from the village, bringing with them the calumet of peace ; they received the strangers with distinction,—“We are Illinois,” said they, “we are men, be welcome to our cabins.” In the language of one of our most favored his-

historians, "it was the first time that the soil of Iowa was trodden by the feet of white men."

The Indians, who had heard of the French, had long desired their alliance, as they knew, they were the enemies of the Iroquois, who were about making predatory excursions in their own country. The latter had inspired such a degree of terror in the breasts of all the Indian tribes, that the Illinois, like the others, courted the alliance of the French, who had been able to resist their aggressions and thwart their efforts to subdue the neighbouring tribes. Joliet and Marquette, with their companions having remained a few days the guests of this friendly people, and having accepted a grand feast, which had been prepared for them, took their departure very much to the regret of their new allies. The chief of the tribe, followed by several hundred warriors, accompanied them to the river-side, and as a memorial of their friendship, presented Marquette with a calumet, ornamented with feathers of different colours, which they assured him would be a safe passport among all the neighbouring nations.

Our hardy adventurers proceeded on their journey, and arrived in a short time at the junction of the Missouri (marked on the old charts "*Pekitanoni*") with

the Mississippi ; they passed the Ohio, or *la belle riviere*, as it was afterwards called by the French, the borders of which were then peopled by the Chouanons, or Chaunis. The aspect of the country was changed ; instead of extensive prairies, they saw nothing but dense forests. They found also another race of men, whose language they were unacquainted with ; they had left the lands of the great Huron and Algonquin families, bounded by the Ohio to the north, and were now entering the hunting grounds of the *Mobilien* tribe, of whom the Chickasas formed part. The Dahcotas, or the Sioux, inhabited the western borders of the Mississippi. Thus, the French required interpreters on both sides of the river, where two languages were spoken, differing from those of the Hurons and Algonquins, with whose dialects they were acquainted.

They continued to descend the Mississippi, until they reached Arkansas river, near the 33d degree of latitude, a tract of country, which, it is said, had been visited by the celebrated Spanish traveller, *De Soto*. The calumet, which had been presented to Joliet and Marquette, was very serviceable to them, as it was readily received by this barbarous people as an emblem of peace, and ensured to our travellers a favorable reception wherever they went. The Indians sent ten men to escort them to

the village of Arkansas, situated near the mouth of the river, where they were met by the Chief and other warriors, who gave them shelter and food. What struck the attention of Joliet, was, that they appeared to be a richer tribe than the others they had encountered, and that they had with them several implements — amongst others, steel axes, which they must have obtained in their forays into other settlements. He concluded they could not be at a very great distance from the Spaniards and the Bay of Mexico. The heat of the climate afforded additional evidence of their being far to the Southward; they were in a country, where abundant rains supplied the want of snow, found in more northern latitudes. Joliet and Marquette having discovered that the river Mississippi did not discharge itself into the Pacific, but took a Southerly course, and having been disappointed in not finding an outlet to the ocean, their provisions being scanty and with few persons to prosecute their voyage, they resolved on returning and communicating to the Government the result of their discoveries.

They journeyed homewards by the Illinois river, and arrived safely at an Indian settlement, now the site of Chicago. In passing through this territory, now one of the most populous and thriving States in the West, they

were struck with its great natural advantages, with the fertility of its soil, the beauty of its scenery, and even with the plumage of its wild birds. Marquette, in his journal, which has been preserved, says "they discovered the most fertile country in the world, watered by fine rivers, woods, filled with the choicest vines and apple trees, extensive prairies, covered with the buffalo, the deer, wild fowl of every description, and *even parrots of a particular kind.*" Such was the rhapsody in which this discoverer of the Mississippi indulged, in his description of a country, which at the present day seems destined to occupy the proud position of being the granary of America, which, for its agricultural capabilities and other resources, is the haven of hope to thousands of the bonded slaves of the old world, and where are the homes and fire-sides of some of the best citizens that America possesses.

All this country was then inhabited by the Miamis, the Mascoutens, or fire worshippers, the Pouteouatomies and the Kikapous. Allouez and Dablon had already visited a portion of it. On his return from the Mississippi, Marquette remained with the Miamis, to the north of the river Illinois. Joliet proceeded immediately to Quebec, to communicate the intelligence of the discovery to Talon, who, he found, had gone to

France. Marquette remained two years amongst the Miamis, and in the year 1675 took his departure for Mackina, at the head of Lake Michigan. On the journey, he disembarked from his canoe at the outlet of a small river, on the Eastern side of the Lake, for the purpose of raising an altar and celebrating mass, after which, having requested his companions to wait for him a few minutes, they retired to a place at a short distance from him, and on their return they found him dead.

Like Mesnard and others who had preceded him, the discoverer of the Mississippi found his grave in the wilds of the West. He was buried in silence at the outskirts of a forest, near to the spot where he met with his death.

History does not mention that France rewarded the exertions of its adventurous colonists by any signal mark of distinction. Joliet and his companions were suffered to remain in obscurity, but if their own country neglected its faithful servants, the people of America have erected monuments to their memory in the magnificent cities, towns and villages, which they have dotted over the surface of the country they discovered. Their works of art and their progress in science will forever distinguish that section of America, the early discovery of which was owing to the zeal of a French missionary and the intrepidity of a Canadian merchant.

The news of the discovery of the Mississippi created a great sensation in the Colony. The boundaries of the American continent, comprising such a vast extent of country were then known to extend towards the sea, and although they were satisfied as to the course which the Mississippi took, they did not doubt that they should find the ocean to the westward of the territories they had discovered. These researches had contributed to the glory of France, they had added lustre to the events of the reign of Louis the Fourteenth, the cause of science had been greatly promoted by the exertions of its navigators, further scope had been afforded to the studies of its geographers and naturalists, yet the discoveries were not complete. Until they had traced the course of the Mississippi, and had re-commenced the voyage at the point where Joliet and Marquette abandoned it, and were satisfied that the Mississippi flowed into the Gulf of Mexico, it could not be said that they had completed their task, in the exploration of the great American continent.

In the year 1667, there emigrated from France to Canada, a young man by the name of Robert Cavalier de La Salle ; ambitious, intrepid and daring, he came to New France with a two-fold object in view, that of making a fortune and acquiring a brilliant reputation.

He had been educated by the Jesuits, under whose care he had been placed from his infancy. Brought up to that life of austerity and self-denial which was practiced by that religious order, having all the enthusiasm and courageousness for which they were remarkable, he wanted only the opportunity to distinguish himself and to prove to the world the indomitable courage with which he was possessed. With a cultivated mind and enlarged ideas, having a perfect knowledge of human nature, and being acquainted with the character, object and pursuits of the Indian tribes in alliance with France, La Salle was well qualified for the performance of the most arduous duty. He listened with attention to Joliet's account of his expedition to the Mississippi, his mind was entranced at the glowing descriptions of that traveller, his heart rebounded with joy at the prospect of the glory which awaited him, with the glance of an eye, he observed the immense field which should occupy his future labours, his plans were already formed, that project, on the success of which, he based his ideas of fortune and future reputation, and which he pursued with such indomitable energy and such incredible perseverance, even to the day of his death.

He had come to Canada with the intention of making discoveries in the North or West, and endeavouring to

find out a passage to Japan or China, but being poor, and this enterprise requiring considerable means to enable any person to undertake it, he remained for several years in a state of obscurity. At length his talents and energy struck the attention of the Count de Frontenac, and a new era was dawning upon him.

Encouraged by Courcelles and Talon, on his arrival in Canada, he had established a small office (*comptoir*), where he dealt with the Indians, at a place situated about eight miles from Montreal, to which, it is supposed, the name of *La Chine* was given, in satirical allusion to the folly of his undertaking, to discover a north-west passage to China. When the news of the discovery of the Mississippi reached Canada, La Salle was, as before mentioned, at Quebec. Availing himself of the excited state of the public mind, caused by this event, he communicated his plans to the Count de Frontenac. He flattered himself, that in proceeding towards the source of the newly-discovered river, he might find a passage to the ocean; at all events, the discovery of the outlet of the Mississippi would not be attended without glory and advantage to him. Desirous of availing himself, at the same time, of the opportunity it would afford him to extend his commercial engagements, he wished to become possessed of Fort Frontenac, an important place

of business in carrying on the fur trade. Strongly recommended by his protector, the Count de Frontenac, he went to France : the Marquis de Seignelay, who had replaced his father, the great Colbert, as Minister of the Marine, received him well, and granted him all that he desired. The King of France conferred on him a patent of nobility, conceded to him Fort Frontenac, on condition that he should rebuild it in stone, and gave him permission to carry on his commercial pursuits, and continue the discoveries, which had been already commenced. This concession was equivalent to an exclusive grant to trade with the Five Nations, and it was highly advantageous to La Salle.

On the 14th July, 1678, La Salle, animated with lively hopes, and his heart filled with joy, took his departure from Rochelle, in France, bringing with him thirty men, mariners and workmen, anchors, sails and other equipments for the vessels, which he intended to build, to navigate the Lakes. On his arrival at Quebec, he left without loss of time for Cataraqui (now Kingston, in Canada West), taking goods with him to traffick with the Indians. He displayed his usual energy in preparing his outfit. As early as the 18th November, but four months since his departure from France, the first sloop which was ever seen on Lake Ontario sailed out of the

harbour of Cataraqui, with its sails spread to the breeze, laden with merchandize and the necessary materials to construct a fort and a vessel of larger size at Niagara, where he intended to establish another trading post for trafficking with the Indians.

This first voyage on the waters of Lake Ontario was attended with success. When they arrived at the head of the Lake, the Indians were struck with astonishment at the appearance of the vessel, they gazed with admiration at its structure, its equipments, and the skilful manner in which it was navigated. Great as was their astonishment, it did not surpass that of the Europeans at the sight of the stupendous Cataract of Niagara; they had heard from a distance the sound of its waters, rushing over a precipice of one hundred and sixty feet in height, and as they approached the Falls, they realized what they had never pictured in their imagination, they gazed with wonder at the sight of a river, rushing over such a precipice into the foaming abyss below, and they were startled at the view of this new feature in the scenery of the great Western World.

La Salle caused the cargo of the sloop to be disembarked and transported to the head of Lake Erie, where he commenced the construction of a fort and a vessel. But whilst the savages observed the progress of the fort

towards its completion, they began to fear and to murmur. In order not to excite the hatred of these barbarians, La Salle contented himself with converting it into a dwelling, surrounded by simple palisades, which he intended to use for a store. In the winter, a workhouse was erected at some distance above the Falls, for the purpose of enabling him to complete the vessel of sixty tons, which he was about building. This work was executed under the immediate superintendence of the Chevalier de Tonti, and as this nobleman was the first architect of a vessel to ply on the waters of Lake Erie, his name and services should not be forgotten. He had been recommended to La Salle by the Prince de Condi; an Italian by birth, he had in his youth engaged in the Sicilian wars, and had the misfortune to lose one of his hands from the bursting of a shell, which he supplied by an iron hand, which he usually covered with a glove. From this circumstance, the savages feared him a great deal, and gave him the appellation of the iron-arm'd De Tonti. He was very useful to La Salle, to whom he was always sincerely attached. There was a work published under his name, on the History of Louisiana, which he afterwards disavowed.

The activity of La Salle increased as the realization of his designs became the more probable. In the win-

ter, he sent De Tonti and the Franciscan Hennepin, since celebrated for the publication of his travels in America, as an embassy to the Iroquois, whom he wished to enlist in favor of his enterprise; he himself afterwards visited them, as well as many other nations, with whom he wished to establish commercial relations.

La Salle was the first European who founded Niagara, and built a vessel on Lake Erie. He called it the "Griffon," after the name of a ravenous wild bird, common in that country. The vessel was launched in the river Niagara, in the year 1679, in the midst of general rejoicings amongst the French, the discharge of artillery, and the singing of the *Te Deum*, not however without the expression of the superstitious belief of the savages, who, on seeing the vessel sailing on the water exclaimed "*Otkon*," "*Otkon*," significant of their astonishment at what the French could do, and implying that they were "extraordinary spirits."

On the seventh of August of the same year, the Griffon, armed with seven pieces of artillery, laden with arms, food and merchandize, and carrying thirty-two men and two missionaries, entered Lake Erie, in the midst of the thunder of the artillery and musketry, the sound of which was re-echoed back from the long ranges of forest, on the borders of the Lake. La Salle,

triumphing over the envy of his enemies and the almost insurmountable obstacles to his enterprise, arrived safely, after a few days' passage, at Detroit, the sight of which was pleasing to his companions. They were delighted with the appearance of the country, and stood for hours admiring the beauty of the scenery, in this favorite locality. "Those," says Hennepin, "who will have the happiness to possess at a future day, the lands of this agreeable and fertile country, will be under lasting obligations to those travellers, who first showed them the way and crossed over Lake Erie, after a hundred leagues of dangerous navigation." The words of this intelligent traveller have become true, the people of America owe a debt of the deepest gratitude to all, who were instrumental in discovering this fertile country, and rescuing it from the aboriginal tribes, who first occupied it. The normal occupiers of the soil were at first repulsed by the genius and the energy of their French invaders, it was afterwards left to the valour and achievements of American soldiers to expel them from their strongholds, in order to make way for that progressive civilization, which Providence had ordained should take place in the wilds of the West.

On the 23d of August, La Salle after passing through a small Lake, opposite Detroit, to which he gave the

name of St. Clair, entered Lake Huron and arrived in five days at Michilimackinac, having been exposed to a violent hurricane, on the voyage. On his arrival at this trading-post, the Indians ran away from fright, on seeing the vessel on the water, carrying its large white sails, and approaching towards them; when they heard the noise of the cannon, it was with difficulty they could be restrained from launching forth into the most violent expressions of terror and consternation.

The French Chief, dressed in a scarlet mantle, ornamented with gold lace, and followed by a guard of armed men, disembarked from the Griffon, to hear high mass celebrated in the chapel of the Ottawas; he was received with every mark of distinction, and the Indians, in a short time, became reconciled to the strangers and joined in rendering them homage.

The Griffon proceeded on its voyage, and in the early part of the month of September, cast anchor in the Bay des *Puans*, on the western shore of Lake Michigan. This was the destination of the travellers, so far as they could proceed by water, and make use of their vessel. La Salle had come to this trading post, to collect the furs, which had been brought here from the interior, and having laden the Griffon with them, he despatched her for Niagara, with the “richest cargo that had yet been

borne, on the waters of Lake Erie.” The Griffon sailed on the 18th of September and was never afterwards heard of. The loss amounted to not less than fifty or sixty thousand francs, and was seriously felt by La Salle, who had intended to dispose of these furs and discharge his pecuniary obligations in Canada.

La Salle, after the departure of his vessel, continued his route as far as the village of Saint Joseph, on the borders of Lake Michigan, whither, according to his directions, the Griffon was to return, after its arrival from Niagara. He was accompanied by several men of different trades, with arms and merchandize. Having reached this village, he erected a house and fort in its neighbourhood, for the safety of his effects, and also to serve as a retreat for his men. He gave it the name of Fort Miami. This fortification was raised on the summit of a hill in the form of a triangle, watered on two sides by a river known as the Miami,* and defended on the other, by a deep ravine. He carefully surveyed the entry of the river, in the expectation of the return of his vessel, on the safety of which, depended in a great measure, the success of his enterprise and the probability

* There were several small streams, marked on the old Charts, to which the name of Miami was given. The writer believes this to have been the river Chicago.

of his speedily entering on the prosecution of his discoveries. He sent two experienced men to Machilimackinac to pilot it up the Lake, but having waited a considerable time, and hearing no accounts, he began to apprehend that some accident had happened to her. Although he was disconcerted at this unexpected delay, the winter being near at hand, he resolved on making an excursion amongst the Illinois, and leaving ten men to guard the fort, he left, accompanied by De Tonti, Hennepin, with two missionaries and about thirty followers. He followed the course of the river known then as the Miami, and after considerable fatigue and danger, arrived towards the end of December, in an Indian village, situated on the borders of the river Illinois, in that section of the country, which at the present day, bears that name. The tribe was absent on the *bison* chase, and the village completely deserted.

The French descended the river and did not meet with the Illinois Indians, until they arrived at Lake Peoria, called *Pimiteoni* by Hennepin, where there was a numerous assemblage of them. These savages, being of a quiet and peaceable disposition, received them with generous hospitality and rubbed their legs, (according to the custom of the tribe, with strangers, who had

come from a distance) with bear's grease and the grease of wild bulls, which they considered had a wonderful effect in restoring activity to limbs that had become torpid, from a long march in the forest. La Salle made them presents and contracted a friendly alliance with them. It was, with great pleasure, that that nation understood, that the French had come to establish colonies in their territory. Like the Hurons, they were exposed to the invasions of the Iroquois; the French would therefore be powerful allies, to resist with them the encroachments of their artful and relentless enemies, whilst in their turn, La Salle could reckon on them, as his best and most faithful friends. Thus an alliance was proposed and accepted between these untutored savages and their European brethren, which had the most salutary consequences, and was as lasting, as any which they were able to contract with these roving savages, in the American forest. The Illinois made their cabins in a peculiar manner, they were constructed of the bark of trees, doubled and sewed together to make them more durable. They were of large stature, strong, robust, skilful in the use of the bow and arrow, but some French writers represent them as a wandering, idle people, having no courage, guided by no moral re-

strains, and without any respect for their Chiefs. They were not acquainted with the use of fire-arms, when the French first came amongst them.

Already, La Salle's men began to murmur and said, that as they had heard no news of the Griffon, that vessel must have been lost, many of them became discouraged and six deserted during the night. His undertaking, which at the commencement was begun under such favorable auspices, was now threatened with an untoward result. What was he to do? For some time he had met with almost insurmountable obstacles, his men were deserting him, and others who remained were only induced to do so, by the promise of their return to Canada in the spring, should circumstances not be more favorable to them. In this emergency, and in order to occupy the minds of the men and arouse them from the state of lethargy, into which they had thrown themselves, he resolved on employing them, in the erection of a Fort, on a height of land, which he found at a short distance from the Lake, and which he named Fort "Crevecœur," or the Fort of the Broken-heart, to indicate his evil destiny and the anguish and remorse, under which his mind laboured. There is a spot, which bears also this name in the State of Missouri, it may have probably been the scene of other disasters to some

of these hardy adventurers, for if they did not leave their bones to bleach on the sands of the forest, at least many of them returned broken-hearted to their homes, after having endured all the pangs of want and misery, within the recesses of this newly-discovered country.

La Salle gave orders for the construction of a boat to descend the Mississippi, and whilst the men were occupied in completing these works, becoming impatient at hearing no news of the Griffon, and being in want of materials to construct his boat, he adopted the almost desperate resolution of returning on foot to Fort Frontenac, a distance of twelve or fifteen hundred miles, in order to procure the means of prosecuting his voyage. Before his departure, he instructed Hennepin when he reached the Mississippi, to ascend that river, as high as possible, towards its source, and examine the tract of country to the North, and after having given the command of the Fort to De Tonti, he himself commenced his long journey for Cataraqui, on the second of March, 1680, armed with a musket, and accompanied by four Frenchmen and an Indian.*

* Charlevoix, in following the description given under the name of De Tonti, has fallen into several errors, respecting La Salle's expedition to the River Illinois, which may be easily detected. Hennepin, an ocular witness, is the best authority in these matters, corroborated

Hennepin had left Fort Crevecœur, on the 29th of February; he descended the Illinois river, as far as the Mississippi, travelled about the country, and afterwards ascended the river, as high as the Falls of Saint Anthony, and fell into the hands of the Sioux. During his captivity, these barbarians amused themselves, in making him write several words of their language, which he had begun to study. They said it was *only putting black upon white*, and when they saw him consult the vocabulary, which he had written of the terms of their peculiar language, they remarked amongst themselves, "*that white thing must be a spirit, as it teaches him to understand all that we say.*" It is a singular fact, but one, which we see recorded on the pages of almost every work, on the aboriginal tribes of America, that whatever appeared to them, as out of the ordinary course of things, they immediately attributed it to the agency of a spirit, thus testifying to their belief in su-

as many of his statements are, by the Letters and relations of Father Zenobe Mambre. See his "PREMIER ETABLISSEMENT DE LA FOI, DANS LA NOUVELLE FRANCE." Many English writers, who follow Charlevoix, have been incorrect in their descriptions of this voyage. The description as given in the text, approaches nearest towards the correct one.

pernatural agency, and possibly, as some may suppose, in the existence of a Divinity.

At the expiration of several months, the savages permitted the three French captives to return amongst their companions, after exacting a promise from them, that they should come back the following year. One of the chiefs traced the route, which they should follow on a piece of bark, and this map, says Hennepin, was as useful to them, as if they had had a compass to guide them in their travels. They reached the mission at Lake Michigan by the river Wisconsin, which flows into the Mississippi and Fox river, which runs to the Eastward.

Such was the expedition of Hennepin, who was the first traveller, who ventured as high up the river, as the Falls of Saint Anthony, and was the first to discover that the Missouri was a large river, running through that tract of country which now bears its name. On his return, as he approached the river Wisconsin, where it joins the Mississippi, he was astonished to meet with a number of traders, conducted by a man of the name of De Luth, who had been travelling for some time, in that distant region.

Whilst Hennepin was exploring the Upper Mississippi,

La Salle's affairs grew worse at Crevecœur, where De Tonti was in command. But in order to understand the nature of the difficulties which surrounded him, and the almost insurmountable obstacles he had to contend with, we must take a glance at his position in Canada, where his enemies were at work to undermine his projects.

Some English writers, in describing La Salle's character, have been guilty of imputing the most sordid motives to him, in prosecuting his discoveries, but cotemporaneous French writers have done justice to him, in believing, that he was actuated by a love of science and a desire to promote the amelioration of his race. On his arrival in Canada, as I have already remarked, without fortune, but with great ambition and the strongest recommendations to persons in authority, whose friendship he cultivated, he very soon became an object of special favour with many who were acquainted with him, whilst his projects, connected with the discovery and colonization of the country, being looked upon with disfavor by others, and especially by the traders, (*traitans*,) excited their envy and jealousy. They thought, that the exclusive grant, which La Salle had obtained from the Count de Frontenac, would interfere with their business and prevent them from trading in furs, in the West, and they availed themselves of every

occasion that presented itself, to thwart his projects. There were two classes of persons, whose enmity he had incurred, the merchants and the *coureurs de bois*, or small traders, who travelled in the woods, to deal with the Indians. Whilst he was at Crevecœur, on the Illinois, awaiting news of the safe arrival of the Griffon, his creditors in Cataraqui seized every thing he had left behind him, in payment of his debts, and thus injured his credit with those persons, who might have been of service to him, and on the other hand, the *coureurs de bois*, or small traders, were doing every thing in their power to predispose the savages against him, and to induce his men to desert from his employment, so that his enterprise might fail.* They excited the Iroquois and Miamis to take up arms against the Illinois, his allies, and lost no opportunity to injure him in the estimation of

* From the works of Le Clerc and Zenobe Mambre, two French authors of that period.

“ This enterprise, which ought to have been sustained by all those persons, who were inclined to act for the Glory of God and the service of the King, was almost frustrated by the bad feelings which they had created in the minds of the Hurons, the Ottawas of the Isles, and neighbouring nations, with whom La Salle had dealings. He found the fifteen men, whom he had sent in the Spring of 1679, to Crevecœur, predisposed against him and seduced from his service ; a part of his property was dissipated, and De Tonti, far from being able to deal

the other tribes. Nothing could equal the activity of these traders; they hated La Salle in consequence of the monopoly of the fur trade, which the Count de Frontenac had granted to him, and were determined, if possible to drive him out of the country. They were constantly at his heels, or to use the language of the old French writers, *ils le suivaient a la piste*, they secretly insinuated to the savages the most serious charges against him, and interposed every obstacle against the accomplishment of his designs. To this opposition in the interior of the country, were united the intrigues of the English, who were beginning to regard with a jealous eye, the discoveries and spirit of aggrandizement of the French, in the West; they therefore sent secret embassies to encourage the Iroquois to declare war against their French allies, in the valley of the Mississippi.

Such were the disadvantages under which LaSalle laboured, and it is not surprising that having to contend against such numerous and powerful foes, he was unable to execute but a part of the plans, he had at first contem-

satisfactorily with the neighbouring tribes, was very much inclined to doubt their fidelity."

Other writers give different versions of De Tonti's conduct, but however their statements may differ, there can be no doubt, that La Salle's affairs at Crevecœur, were at this period, far from being in a satisfactory condition.

plated ; it was quite enough to be obliged to overcome the obstacles, which everywhere surrounded him in pushing his discoveries in the West, he was totally unprepared for the opposition he met with in a quarter, where he least expected it.

However, De Tonti, who had been placed in charge of Fort Crevecœur, lost no time in visiting the encampment of the Illinois and assuring himself of their friendly assistance. Having been informed, that the Iroquois wished to join the Miamis in an attack on them, he hastened to instruct his new allies, in the use of fire-arms, so that they might be on a footing of equality with these nations, amongst whom musketry had been lately introduced. He also showed them the manner of fortifying their position, by erecting palisades, and built a Fort, on a rock, two hundred feet in height, protected by a river at its base. He was occupied with these labors, when nearly all the men, whom he had left at Fort Crevecœur, becoming disheartened at the unfavorable turn which matters had taken, robbed the ammunitions and stores and deserted.

There was no longer room for doubt, La Salle's enemies had succeeded in arming the five nations, who appeared on a sudden, in the month of September 1680, in the territory occupied by the Illinois and threw that

weak and peaceable people into the greatest consternation. This invasion exposed the French to considerable danger. De Tonti hastened to interfere, and a truce was effected, but the Iroquois, observing the fear into which they had thrown the Illinois, did not allow it to be of long duration: they committed the most frightful ravages, dug up their dead, devastated their fields, and destroyed their habitations. The Illinois retreated beyond the Mississippi, roamed over the forest in scattered bands, in order to evade the vigilance of the Iroquois, and left the French, in the midst of their enemies. De Tonti, having with him but five men and two Recollets,* resolved to abandon the country. The remnants of this small colony left Fort Crevecœur, in a bark canoe, without provisions and depending on the chase for food, during their journey homewards.

Whilst they were descending the north side of Lake Michigan, La Salle was proceeding along the south shore, with a reinforcement of men, and materials for the construction of his vessel. He, therefore, found no person at the Fort, which he had established on the river Illinois. This made him lose another year, which he spent in travelling amongst the neighbouring tribes; he visited a great

* An order of Priesthood.

number of the savages, amongst others, the Outagamis, and the Miamis, whom he succeeded in drawing away from their alliance with the five nations, who, it seems, after the departure of De Tonti, had driven a part of the Illinois Indians, amongst the Osage tribe, beyond the Mississippi. He afterwards returned to Cataraqui and Montreal, to put his affairs in order, which needed all his attention. He had suffered considerable losses.* However, he succeeded in making a settlement with his creditors, to whom he gave permission to carry on trade in those immense possessions which had been granted to him by the Count de Frontenac, and received from them

* A vessel laden with twenty two thousand livres worth of goods suffered shipwreck, in the gulf of Saint Lawrence; several bark canoes ascending the Saint Lawrence, from Montreal to Fort Frontenac were lost in the rapids. He said, that with the exception of the Count de Frontenac, it seemed to him, that all Canada had conspired against his enterprise; that they had seduced his men, whom he had brought with him from France, of whom part had run away from him with his goods, through New Holland, and that with regard to the Canadians, who had come with him, that they had found means to disgust them, and detach them from his service. "In all his misfortunes," says a missionary, "I have never remarked in him the slightest change, always appearing perfectly calm and self-possessed, and I observed, he was more resolved than ever, to continue his work and prosecute his discoveries."

in return, further advances to prosecute his discoveries. He abandoned the extensive plan he had projected, of establishing forts and colonies, at the different points on his route, towards the sea. Apprehensive of further embarrassments, he even gave up the idea of constructing a vessel and availed himself of the Indian bark canoes, to proceed on his voyage.

He took his departure accompanied by De Tonti, and Father Mambre, twenty-four Frenchmen, and eighteen savages of the Wolf and Abenakis tribes, the bravest in America, and reached the Mississippi, on the 6th of February 1682.

Like Marquette, he followed the course of the great river, without stopping to survey the adjoining country. He was enchanted with the mildness of the climate and the beauty of the scenery along the shores of the Mississippi, that feeling of sadness which had before subdued him, gradually wore off, and as his prospects became brighter, his ideas of fortune and future greatness again returned to him. He saw the Arkansas and other tribes, visited by Marquette; and as he drew near the South, met with a number of other nations, such as the Chicasas, the Taensas, the Chactas, and the Natchez, rendered so celebrated by the writings of Chateaubriand, and other travellers. Being obliged to stop several times, he did

not arrive at the outlet of the river, until the ninth of April, when he first saw the Ocean, spreading its wide waters around that beautiful country, rendered so pleasing by its warm, tropical climate. Like Marquette, and the other travellers, who had preceded him, he gave vent to the liveliest feelings of emotion, a cry of enthusiasm and of triumph was wrung from his heart, at length he had reached the point of his destination, the object of his most anxious desires for years had been attained, he stood on that soil, which he claimed as a noble conquest for his country. He solemnly took possession of that part of the valley of the Mississippi for France, and gave it the name of Louisiana, in honor of Louis the Fourteenth, of which New Orleans, the capital, was founded by one of the countrymen of La Salle.

Thus the discovery of the Mississippi was completed by the French, from the Falls of Saint Anthony to the sea, a distance of more than eighteen hundred miles.

La Salle then retraced his steps and despatched Mambre to France, to render an account to the King of the result of the voyage. This Franciscan monk embarked on board of a vessel, which had been sent from France to Canada to bring back the Count de Frontenac, and which sailed from Quebec, on the seventeenth of November. La Salle himself remained the following summer,

and winter, amongst the Illinois, and in the vicinity of Lake Michigan to form new establishments and trade with the Indians. Having afterwards heard of the evil disposition towards him of the new Governor M. de la Barre, he resolved to go to France, to counteract the effects of the report which that functionary had sent to the Government, relatively to his discoveries in the West. De la Barre had written to the Ministry, that it was owing to the imprudence of La Salle, that war had been declared by the Five nations against the French, and that the Colony might be attacked, before he had time to place it in a state of defence; he wrote again after the discovery of the outlet of the Mississippi, that Mambre, who had just arrived in Quebec, to go to Europe, would not communicate anything to him about La Salle's expedition, that he did not believe, that much faith could be attached to what the Franciscan said, and that La Salle himself appeared to have ulterior designs in view, which could not meet with their approval, that he was in the vicinity of the Bay of Lake Michigan, with about twenty vagabonds, French and savages, where he set his Sovereign at defiance, pillaged and robbed the people of his nation, exposed them to the incursions of the Iroquois, and made use of all this violence, under the pretext, that

he alone was entitled to the right to trade with the Indians, in the countries, which he had discovered.

From these false representations, made by the Governor to the French Ministry, followed by the seizure of Forts Frontenac and St. Louis in Illinois, La Salle left Quebec, in the month of November 1683, to repair to France, for the purpose of laying his case before the French Ministry and proving his fidelity to the Crown.

La Salle's arrival in France was most opportune. It was at the period, when Louis the Fourteenth, was at the height of his glory, and was acknowledged as the most powerful Prince in Christendom. The Conqueror of combined Europe, he had dictated terms to the vanquished, at the Congress of Nimegue, in 1678. Everything seemed to favor the designs of this ambitious monarch. The discovery of the Mississippi lent additional interest to the events of his reign, and whilst he rejoiced at the glory, which he had acquired in arms, he was not insensible to that, which he had gained, as being the Monarch, under whose reign, La Salle had been able to do so much for the promotion of science. It was not, therefore, surprising, that La Salle's enemies were thwarted in their designs to injure him, and that he himself was received with great favor, by his sovereign, as being the discoverer of the out-

let of the Mississippi, and the one, who had procured for him this new acquisition of territory.

Although Colbert had descended to the grave, the impulse which he had given to commerce, to industry and colonization had survived him, and the French people learnt with a feeling of pride, of the extension of territory in the interior of America. M. de Seignelai, (Colbert's successor) after having held a conference with our traveller, whom he had with a great deal of interest perceived, that M. de la Barre had been led into error. He could refuse nothing to La Salle, who had endowed France with one of the finest countries in the world, and the King as well as the Minister, gave him permission to establish colonies in America. Appreciating these marks of favor, on the part of his Sovereign, and sensible, how much they would tend to dispel the prejudice, existing against him elsewhere, he set about making preparations for a new enterprise, in which he had already secured the favourable co-operation of Government.

Ferdinand de Soto, the associate of Pizarro, whose name has become renowned in the History of Spain, had done nothing more in 1539 and '40 than travel over the interior of the country from Florida to Arkansas. The object of his expedition was to ascertain, whether there

existed any gold or silver mines, in that section of America, and having failed to discover any, he was about returning, when he met with his death at Red river in the year 1542. Moscosa, his Lieutenant, replaced him and marched with three hundred and fifty men, towards the West, but on his reaching the mountains, he changed his course to the South and embarked on board of a vessel to return to his country. Neither De Soto nor Moscosa had visited the country, with a view to its colonization, and there is nothing but vague traditions existing of their travels, in the southern part of this continent. There is a work in the Spanish language, written by Garcilasso de la Vega, of which a translation has been made by P. Richelet, entitled "History of the Conquest of Florida, by Ferdinand de Soto," but it contains no information of the existence of any Colony, established by the Spaniards. in the valley of the Mississippi.*

We have seen the favorable reception, which Louis the Fourteenth gave La Salle, when in 1683, he informed

* This work was in the Library of the Legislative Assembly in Canada, which was destroyed by fire, in the month of April 1849. With the exception of Zenobe Mambre's work, all the works herein mentioned were found in that collection. The destruction of that library unequalled by any on this Continent, and as regards its works, on American History, by any throughout the World, was an event which

him, that he had lately acquired such a vast accession of territory, on the American Continent. There were no favors, which that proud and ambitious monarch did not lavish on the discoverer of the outlet of the Mississippi. He was received at Court, with all the honors paid to the princes and nobles of the land, his name was on every one's lips and there was no praise, which he did not receive. It must have been gratifying to La Salle, when he remembered the misfortunes of his early days, and all the trials he had gone through, and when he recalled to mind the aspersions of his enemies, to find himself the recipient of Royal favors, and the object of the benevolence of that monarch, under whose auspices, he had first commenced his undertaking. He proposed to Louis the Fourteenth, to unite Canada with the country, on the borders of the Gulf of Mexico, and to extend his sovereignty from the shores of the Saint Lawrence to the outlet of the Mississippi. This project was readily countenanced by the King, and he gave La Salle instructions to proceed immediately to colonize Louisiana. Four vessels were placed at his disposal; the *Jolly* car-

will forever be deplored. The collector of the works, a gentleman of distinguished literary attainments, had visited every book-mart in Europe, to attain the object, he had in view.

rying thirty-six cannons, the *Belle* six cannons, the *Aimable*, a vessel of three hundred tons and a transport. Two hundred and eighty persons embarked on board these vessels, amongst whom, there were a hundred soldiers, mechanics, volunteers, and eight missionaries.

On the 24th July 1684, this little squadron, under the command of M. de Beaujeu, left Rochelle, in France, on its voyage of discovery. Scarcely had they set sail, when a mis-understanding arose between de Beaujeu and La Salle. This gave rise, as it would appear, to a lengthened controversy, in which both parties appealed to the French Ministry. Mr. Sparks, in the 11th volume of his valuable work, on American Biography, has given the substance of De Beaujeu's letter to the authorities in France, but as the details of this quarrel would be uninteresting, they are here passed over.

In consequence of these misunderstandings, it seems, they committed an error in navigating the vessels and went out of the proper course—instead of being at the east, they were far to the west of the outlet of the Mississippi, and on the 14th of February 1685, landed in St. Benard's bay, now called Matagorda, in Texas, at a distance of a hundred and twenty leagues from the river, they were in search of. To add to La Salle's difficulties, the commander of the *Aimable*, on entering the

bay, struck his vessel on a rock, some authors say designedly,* others accidentally. However this may be, the *Aimable* was shipwrecked and the whole cargo was lost, and La Salle was deprived of the use of nearly all his munitions of war, mechanical implements and other articles, which were necessary to commence operations, for the establishment of a colony, in an uncultivated and distant country. De Beaujeu, instead of punishing the Commander, received him on board of his ship, to protect him from La Salle's vengeance. There seemed to be a fatality, attending this enterprise from its commencement to its termination. De la Barre's opposition to it, followed by the confiscation of La Salle's property, the aspersions cast on his character, and the injury, that was attempted to be done to him in France; all was discouraging to him, and when to this was added, the conduct of De Beaujeu towards him, it certainly appeared, as if the fates were against the successful completion of his projects. De Beaujeu endeavored to aggravate the hardships of La Salle's condition; he refused him all succor or assistance, he would not give him any of the materials, that were on board his vessel to replace those, which had been lost, and on the 14th March

* Joutel JOURNAL HISTORIQUE DU DERNIER VOYAGE DE FEU M. DE LA Salle IN 12mo., PARIS, 1713.

1685, finally abandoned the young Colony, consisting of one hundred and eighty persons, on an inhospitable shore, in a distant country, surrounded by savages and exposed to the most imminent danger.

They immediately began to cultivate the ground and to erect a fort, to protect them against the incursions of the Indians. When it was nearly completed, La Salle ascended the *Riviere aux Vaches*, to a distance of about two leagues from the Bay, where he commenced the erection of another Fort, which he called Saint Louis, in honor of the King, who had bestowed on him so many favors. Placed on a height of land, the view from the Fort extended over the whole surrounding country. However, when the buildings were almost finished, the people began to complain; the grain, which they had sown became parched from the intensity of the heat, or was destroyed by wild animals from the adjoining forest, the mechanics knew but little of their trades, and the works were suspended from the want of men to complete them, the people grew exasperated from the evils they suffered and broke out into open mutiny, which was only allayed by the interference of *Joutel*, the author of the best account, we have, of this unfortunate expedition. Some of the men were seized with sickness and died, whilst others, threatened with a hos-

tile attack from the Indians, complained that La Salle did not bring them out of the country. He alone of all the colonists, concealed his fears and never lost that equanimity, for which he was remarkable; in the midst of all his difficulties, he preserved a calm and serene countenance, he never gave vent to a thought, which might have the effect of discouraging his men, but on the contrary, applied himself with assiduity to the completion of the work and was himself foremost in carrying it on. The resources of his genius seemed to increase with the obstacles he had to surmount, his temper naturally kind to his inferiors, became severe, as it was necessary to repress their insubordination and he punished the slightest faults with the greatest rigour. There hardly ever escaped a word of kindness or consolation from his lips, towards those, who were suffering with the greatest patience. A deep sadness came over the spirits of the colonists. They felt indifferent at every thing that occurred, and disease having again spread its ravages amongst them, about thirty of them surrendered life, without even a feeling of sorrow. The character of La Salle contributed greatly to his misfortunes. His pride disdained any interference with him. Any other person less capable, perhaps less just than him, but more insinuating, might have succeeded where he failed.

In that part of the country, where this colony was established (now Texas) the climate was warm, but salubrious, the air pure, the sky serene, and it scarcely ever rained, extensive plains were seen, divided here and there, by rivers, lakes, and the most charming rural retreats, the palm tree grew in the forests, which were filled with a species of leopards and tigers, the rivers were full of crocodiles, twenty feet in length, which chased away the fish, the hissing serpent was concealed beneath the grass, in the prairies strewed with flowers, which attracted the attention of the French, and a multitude of savage tribes were roving through the forests; thus, in the midst of all the allurements of this fine tropical climate, beguiled by the charming prospect around them, they had but to wander from the precincts of their habitations, and they were doomed to meet with death, where they had hoped to enjoy life.

La Salle resolved to make further exertions, for the discovery of the outlet of the Mississippi. He made a voyage to the Colorado, in which he lost several men, who were massacred by the Indians or who perished in the shipwreck of the *Belle*, the only vessel belonging to him, which was left after the departure of De Beaujeu. He made another excursion among the

Cenis,* a tribe in the interior, which was not more successful, and out of twenty men, who went with him, he brought back but eight. Owing to sickness, and the accidents, which happened to them, there were also frightful ravages, amongst his other companions. La Salle proposed to ask for assistance from the inhabitants of the West India Islands, and to travel about the gulf of Mexico, until he found the Mississippi, but the loss of the *Belle* frustrated all his plans; his resources failing him every day, and being distant two thousand miles from the habitations of civilized man, there remained no other recourse, but to demand assistance from France, by the way of Canada.

He decided to go himself to Illinois, a step which would certainly have been unadvisable, had not his presence been necessary in Canada, to silence his opponents, who were always ready to cast aspersions on his conduct, whenever success did not attend him. He left on the twelfth of January 1687, taking with him seventeen persons, and leaving twenty at Fort Saint Louis, including men, women and children. Thus, at this period, the number of colonists was reduced from one hun-

* Charlevoix mentions, that the CLAMCÆTS were the names of the savages, who lived on the borders of the sea, whilst the CENIS occupied the interior.

dred and eighty to thirty-seven. A Canadian of the name of Le Barbier was left in command of the Fort. "We separated," says Joutel, "one from another, with such sorrow and sadness, that it appeared as if we all had a secret presentiment, we should never see each other again."

The journey was slow and painful. On the sixteenth of March, whilst they were yet, on one of the tributaries of Trinity river, a sanguinary tragedy occurred, which seemed to complete the misfortunes, which had already befallen this ill-fated expedition. Some of the men who accompanied La Salle, at the head of whom was Duhaut, being separated from the rest, had a quarrel with La Salle's nephew, named Moragnet; disheartened at their losses and privations, and incensed at the insolence of this man, they determined to kill him, and to dispatch at the same time his two companions, in case they should disclose their participation in the offence. But they had no sooner committed this triple assassination, than fearing the justice of La Salle, and carried away by their propensity to commit crime, they thought their vengeance would not be satisfied, as long as that Chief lived; his death was therefore resolved upon. In the mean time, La Salle, finding that his nephew did not return, a suspicion flitted across his mind, that

something wrong had occurred to him, and he asked, if he had not had some difficulty with Duhaut. He left immediately to go and meet him. The conspirators having observed him coming at a distance, loaded their guns, crossed the river, and concealed themselves in the brushwood, lying in wait for him. The latter, on approaching their place of concealment, observed two eagles, flying over his head, as if they were in the neighborhood of some prey; he fired his gun. One of the conspirators came forth from his hiding place and on La Salle's approaching him, he asked him where was his nephew? Whilst he was giving a vague reply, a ball struck La Salle in the head, and he fell mortally wounded, without saying a word. The missionary Anastase who was near him, feared that he would undergo the same fate. La Salle lived about an hour after he had been wounded, and in shaking hands with Anastase, who was on his knees near him, indicated to him, that he understood the words, which that pious missionary was addressing to him. He was buried on the spot, where he was killed, in the midst of the forest, by that good Priest, who planted a cross over his grave, in memory of one, who had been to him a good friend and a kind companion. Mr. Sparks places the scene of this bloody drama, on the borders of one of the tributaries

of the river Brazos, whilst other writers say, it occurred in the vicinity of Trinity river.

The murderers laid hold of everything they could find and proceeded on their journey; some of their companions with their hearts overburdened with grief, others with the deepest remorse and disquietude. The assassins soon became disunited, and in a quarrel, which they had, respecting the division of the property, Du-haut and the Surgeon Liotot, the two chief conspirators, met with their death from a pistol shot, fired at them by their companions. The savages looked with terror on these sanguinary scenes, perpetrated in the depths of the forest, by those very men, who had come amongst them to inculcate peaceful doctrines, and to teach them, how sinful it was to imbrue their hands in human blood. Soon after the commission of this last crime, they separated. All those who were compromised in the murder, remained amongst the Indians, whilst the others to the number of seven, viz : Joutel, Anastase, the Cavaliers, uncle and nephew, and three others, continued their journey, as far as Illinois, where they arrived at Fort Saint Louis, on the fourteenth of September 1687.

However sad was the fate of La Salle and his companions, the small colony, that had remained, at Saint

Bernard's Bay, met with even more dreadful disasters. A few days after La Salle left, the savages suddenly attacked the fort, and massacred all the inhabitants, with the exception of five. They had suffered all the pangs of want and hunger, they had been exposed to the attacks of hordes of ruthless savages, and gladly welcomed death, as the means of averting their misery. The five persons, who escaped, fell into the hands of the Spaniards; two or three of them were sent to the mines of Mexico and the others, young men named Talon, were taken under the protection of the Vice-Roy of that country, and treated by him, with every mark of kindness. When they arrived at the age of manhood, they were placed in the Spanish Navy, and after several engagements, in which they distinguished themselves, returned to France, their native country.

Such was the unfortunate issue of an expedition which had inspired the greatest hopes, and which would have probably succeeded, had they confined themselves to promoting the objects they had in view at the establishment, where they were at first located, without directing their attention elsewhere. Texas is one of the finest and most fertile Countries in the world, but La Salle here committed the same error he had fallen into, in Canada, that of being accompanied by too many persons, in his

expeditions. The ruin of St. Louis, was the necessary consequence of the disasters, which befel this party. In order to promote its success, La Salle ought to have remained in his young Colony and given encouragement to settlements and the arts of agriculture. Some authors reproach him for having lost sight of his first designs, in order to attempt the discovery of the fabulous mines of Sainte Barbe; but there is nothing in Joutel, nor in Zenobe Mambre,* which would justify this assertion.†

It would appear, that the genius of this celebrated traveller was more adapted to establish a great commercial empire in those distant countries, than to found an agricultural colony. There was something grand and majestic in his ideas, and the plans, which he submitted to Louis the Fourteenth, were based on exact and

* Christian Le Clere "First establishment of the Faith in New France."

† On the contrary, instead of approaching the Spaniards, he went farther from them. We read in Zenobe Mambre's work, "It was here, that La Salle changed his route from the North-East to the East, for reasons, which he does not give us, and which we have never been able to penetrate." The Mississippi was to the East of him. There must be some error in this account from Zenobe Mambre, the words from "North East to the East," ought perhaps to be read "From North East to the West." His error consisted in not going to the East, where he would have discovered the outlet of the river.

profound calculations; he was the precursor of Duplex.

I have enlarged more on the result of this unfortunate expedition, because it serves as a prelude to that, which was afterwards undertaken in Louisiana. The student of American history owes a tribute of respect to the memory of a man, who sacrificed his fortune and his life, in the cause of French colonization in America, for if he did not establish, he at least greatly accelerated the establishment of Louisiana, now the abode of so many of his countrymen, and one of the most flourishing parts of the Union. Every day adds also to the interest which is taken in the history of the fathers of the New World. As this Continent becomes more inhabited, as these ancient colonies, once so poor, so humble in their origin, are changed into States, into independent Republics, the names of their founders acquire increased celebrity, and their actions may be regarded as the landmarks of history, behind which there is so much to interest the student in his researches for information, concerning the early discovery of this part of America.

The foundation of a Colony in Louisiana, like that of Canada, and the other French possessions in America was doomed to be accompanied by many vicissitudes and misfortunes. The experience of a century had not

changed the policy of the government, the large and comprehensive principles of Colbert were forgotten, even at the time, when it was first contemplated to found this establishment, and the penury of a nearly exhausted treasury induced the creating of a monopoly, where the enterprise ought to have received the attention, for it needed the undivided energies of the Government. France, at the present day is attempting to establish a military empire in Africa ; it might learn a lesson, from its experience in the colonization of this Continent. There were none of the elements of durability in either the policy she pursued or the institutions she established in the New World. She placed her foot on American soil, in the hope of realizing money from the adventure, her objects were to promote commerce and increase her wealth, she thought but little of the means of ensuring happiness to her children on this Continent. By encouraging the arts of agriculture, she would be giving hope to the Colonists, that they would find a permanent home, in the wilds of America, and this would thwart her schemes for aggrandizing herself, by the monopoly of the commerce of the New World. She would not give them liberty, but preferred transplanting to this Continent the germs of that despotism, that was crushing the energies of her people at home. Hence, her want of

success, in making the Colonists feel a permanent interest in the soil, hence, from their love of liberty and fear of despotism they yielded, under the combined influence of American valor and patriotism. From the plains of Abraham, in the frigid regions of Canada, to the rice and sugar plantations of Louisiana, there was not an inch of territory, which she was not finally obliged to abandon, although she was the first to enter on the work of colonization and to obtain a temporary foothold in the country.

The war, which was terminated by the Peace of Riswick, had engrossed so much of the attention of the French, that they did not make any further attempt to colonize either Texas or Louisiana; but several French Canadians, attracted by the beauty and fertility of the country, had established themselves during this period, along the shores of the Atlantic and the Mississippi, and were the ancestors of many of those wealthy planters and merchants, who are now settled in the City of New Orleans and the surrounding country. They had founded establishments in that part of Louisiana, and at Mobile, in order to be as near as possible to the French West India Islands, whither they resorted for purposes of commerce.* But as soon as peace was re-established on a

* Le Page Dupratz work on America, published in Paris in 1758.

solid and permanent basis, the French Court bestowed its attention on the affairs of the New World. The Spaniards, who at all times looked upon America, as their exclusive patrimony, had regarded La Salle's enterprise with much envy, and they learned the news of his death and the dispersion of his companions, without manifesting any emotion. They knew, it would afford them the opportunity of taking quiet possession of the country and driving away the French for ever. After having visited different parts of the coast, for the purpose of selecting a convenient locality for a settlement, they established themselves at Pensacola, at the western extremity of Florida, where they had remained for a short period, before D'Iberville arrived.

On his return from Hudson's Bay in 1697, this celebrated traveller proposed to the French Ministry, to resume the projects, which they had some years before contemplated, with respect to Louisiana. M. de Pontchartrain readily accepted his offer, and gave him two vessels, with which he set sail from Rochefort in France, in the month of October of the following year, and more successful than La Salle, he found the outlet of the Mississippi, the search after which had occupied a part of the life-time of his predecessor. Having, on his return, been named Governor General of that ex-

tensive country, he went there in the year 1699, with a number of Colonists. He presented himself before Fort Pensacola and asked permission to disembark, which the Spaniards refused. He continued his route towards the West, and in March 1699, entered the mouth of the Mississippi, which he ascended to the settlement of the *Outmas*, a tribe established above the place, now known as Donaldsonville, who delivered to him a letter from De Tonti, addressed to La Salle, whom he had wished to meet in the fall of 1685.

D'Iberville returned and disembarked his small colony, in the Bay of Biloxi, situated between the river and Pensacola. Here, they suffered much from the heat of the climate, and there was nothing in the appearance of the country to attract their attention; its dry and arid soil they judged unfit for agriculture and they concluded, that D'Iberville selected the locality, as being so well adapted to establish commercial relations with the neighbouring Indians, the Spaniards, the French West India Islands and with Europe.

On his return from France, in the year 1700, D'Iberville was apprised that the English, coming from the sea, had appeared in the Mississippi, whilst others coming by land from Carolina, had advanced as far as the

territory of the Chickasas, on the river Yazous.* The attention of this nation was attracted towards Louisiana, by the treasonable conduct of Father Hennepin,† who in dedicating a new edition of his travels in America, to King William the Third, wherein he described La Salle's discoveries as his own, invited that Protestant Monarch to take possession of the country and to propagate the Gospel amongst the Indians.‡ William, therefore despatched three vessels, laden with Huguenots to commence the colonization of the Mississippi, but D'Iberville was before-hand with them. They then went to the Province of Panuca, to concert measures with the Spaniards to drive away the French from Biloxi. This proceeding was however ineffectual.§ They met with hardly any opposition on the part of the Span-

* The Carolinas North and South are marked on the old French charts, as having the Mississippi for their western boundary.

† The King of France issued orders to arrest this Monk, if he presented himself in Canada. (Documens de Paris.)

‡ There is a curious passage in the abstract of a Memorial to King William, presenting the claims of the English to a part of the valley of the Mississippi, (to be found in the appendix to Coxe's *Corallana*, page, 86,) in which the New Englanders claimed a right to the territory, on the ground of discovery, in the year 1678. Coxe's *Corallana* was published in 1722.

§ Universal History, XI., 278.

iards, and from the friendly relations, which subsisted between these nations, at the commencement of the century, the English were foiled in their efforts to bring about a state of hostility between them.

After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, a large number of Huguenots had established themselves in Virginia and along the coast of America. They had acquired considerable property in Carolina, and Massachusetts had given them the right of representation in the Legislature. They established many towns, which are now in a flourishing state. These unfortunate exiles, who could never forget their native country, had petitioned Louis the Fourteenth for permission to settle under his protection in Louisiana; they assured him that they would ever be faithful subjects and would demand nothing more than liberty of conscience. They said, that if he acceded to their wishes, they would leave in considerable numbers and aid in developing the resources of that flourishing country. Louis the XIV, who became more religious, as his years advanced, refused their prayer, "The King," says Pontchartrain, "did not expel the Protestants from his Kingdom, to erect a Republic in America." They renewed their demand, under the regency of the Duke of Orleans, but that licentious Prince gave them the same answer as his pred-

ecessor. In speaking of the Huguenots, the circumstance of their arrival in America, may be mentioned, in connection with the discovery of the West. They were a hardy and energetic race of men; suffering from religious persecution and escaping from the flames of religious warfare, which were kindling in their native country, they emigrated to America, appreciating the value of civil and religious liberty. Foremost in every work for the advancement and amelioration of their race, they prosecuted science for the blessings it would confer on mankind and thus contributed in no slight degree to facilitate the labors of those, who were making researches in America. Nor were they behind-hand in the struggles, which their adopted Country was afterwards engaged in, with the parent State. They voluntarily came forward and rendered essential service to America, when she stood most in need of it. "The remembrance, says an American writer,* of the distinguished services, which their descendants rendered to our country, and to the cause of civil and religious lib-

* Memoir of the French Protestants, who settled at Oxford, Massachusetts A. D. 1686, with a sketch of the entire History of the Protestants of France by A. Holmes, D. D. Corresponding Secretary. "Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Vo. 2nd of the 3d series.

erty, ought to increase our respect for the French emigrants and our interest in their history. Mr. Gabriel Manigault of South Carolina gave the country, which had offered an asylum to his ancestors, two hundred and twenty thousand dollars, to carry on the war of Independence. He rendered this service, at the commencement of the contest, when no one could say, whether it would terminate in a revolution or a revolt. Of the nine chairmen of the old Congress, who directed the affairs of the United States, during the war of the Revolution, three were descendants of French Protestant refugees, viz: Henry Laurens of South Carolina, John Jay of New York, and Elias Boudinot of New Jersey."

We left D'Iberville engaged in establishing his small Colony in the Bay of Biloxi, near Pensacola. He undertook a short voyage up the Mississippi, as far as the Natchez, where he contemplated fixing the site of a town, but he returned to Biloxi, where he established his head quarters. M. de Sauvolle was named the commandant of this Fort. D'Iberville wrote to the French Ministry, that men of experience in the affairs of America were of opinion, that Louisiana would never become important in a commercial point of view, unless they established free trade with the merchants of the Kingdom. The Government restricted commerce

with Louisiana, as it was generally believed at that period, that great value was to be attached to the pearl fisheries, and the skins of the *bisons* and other wild animals, and that the trade in these articles would greatly enrich the public treasury. The rumors that prevailed in France, respecting the existence of gold and silver mines, to the west of the Mississippi, led the Government to indulge in the most sanguine hopes, that the country would prove the richest portion of the French domains. This, therefore, induced the Ministry to create monopolies, which they could at all times regulate, rather than throw open the commerce of Louisiana to the enterprise and industry of its people. D'Iberville sent M. Leseur, his relative, to take possession of a copper mine, on Green river, to the North West of the Falls of Saint Anthony. This undertaking was soon abandoned, on account of its being carried on so far in the interior. With regard to the pretended mines of gold and silver, which excited much more attention in Europe, than in America, they were so many idle delusions, which seized hold of the public mind for the moment, but which vanished, as soon as the uncertainty of their existence became known. Not that there were no mines to the west of the Mississippi, but they had not *then* been discovered. With many, the search after

gold was the only object they had in view, in coming to the New World, but their hopes were doomed to be disappointed and their labours resulted in shame and ruin. Such were the frequent attempts, made by a Portuguese fugitive, named Antoine, who had escaped from the mines of Mexico, and who had made several fruitless searches, in the soil of Louisiana. They resulted in nothing else, than to bring the *French hunters after gold*, nearer and nearer to the sources of the rivers, emptying themselves into the Mississippi, and which took their rise in the neighbourhood of the Rocky Mountains. In their wanderings, they had traversed the country, bordering on the banks of the Red river, the Arkansas, and the Missouri, and the coveted riches, which they idly fancied, were embowelled in the earth, fled before them, as so many mirages of the desert.

To what reflections do these unsuccessful attempts of the French give rise? Had they discovered the existence of the gold, which is now known to be, to the west of the Mississippi; had they the most distant idea of the existence of that wealth, which is now within the limits of our Government, what an *impetus* would it have given to the cause of French colonization in America? Thousands would have left their native country and settled themselves on this Continent, attracted by

that golden meteor, which they saw in the distance and which they were so eagerly in search of. Instead of shedding their blood, on the battle fields of Duquesne and Monongahela, in the hope of sustaining a feeble sovereignty in the New World, they would have fought with desperation, knowing the value of the prize, they were surrendering. But the French was not the nation, which Providence had ordained, should become the inheritors and the possessors of this soil. The glorious deeds of our ancestors, in ejecting the French from America, were began amongst the mountain passes of the Alleghanies. They were consummated in the war for Independence. Divine Providence, in rewarding those, who *were not engaged in a search after gold*, but who were battling in the cause of human liberty and civilization, on the plains of Cerro Gordo and Buena Vista, opened to their view those objects, which the French had searched for in vain, those mines of gold, which they had so long coveted, but which they never could obtain.

In the year 1701, D'Iberville commenced an establishment on the river Mobile, and M. de Bienville, his brother, since in command of the colony, after the death of De Sauvolle, removed the inhabitants from the sandy plains of Biloxi, to this more favored locality. The

river was only navigable for boats of light draught, and the soil which it watered, was only adapted for the cultivation of tobacco, but, "according to the system, that then, prevailed of fixing the colony near the mouth of a river," they wished to be within a short distance of the Island of Dauphine, or the Massacre, as it was called, in order that they might have the advantage of a harbour, from whence, as at Biloxi, they might trade with the Spaniards, the French West India Islands and with Europe. Mobile soon became the chief place of residence, (*chef-lieu*,) of the French. On his fourth voyage to Louisiana, in the following year, D'Iberville caused barracks and stores to be constructed, and under the management of its first founder, the Colony advanced by degrees in population and resources, until the death of D'Iberville, which occurred in the year 1706. D'Iberville expired, with the reputation of being one of the bravest and most skilful officers, in the French Navy. Born in Canada, of an ancient Norman family, he had enlisted, almost from his boyhood, in the service of his country. He had passed his apprenticeship in arms, in the wars, which the French carried on against hostile Indian tribes, in which the most essential qualifications in the French officer was the possession of extraordinary physical force, and the most daring intre-

pidity, and in which the officer, as the soldier was alike accustomed to lengthy marches in the thickest forests, at all seasons of the year. Depending on the chase for food, and handling his gun, as he would his axe, and his paddle as his sword, he was brought up to a life of the severest privations; "not to fear a ball, if it should strike him in the midst of the forest, nor to attack the most savage Indians, in an ambuscade, nor to storm a Fort, by a sharp escalade, and without artillery." D' Iberville excelled in this difficult and sanguinary mode of warfare. He was no less distinguished as a mariner, and had he remained in France, would have reached the highest grades in his profession. He engaged in a number of combats on the sea, sometimes against superior forces, and he was always victorious. He twice carried on a most desolating war, against the English possessions in New Foundland, and took its capital; he conquered Pemaquid in Acadia, subdued the territory around Hudson's Bay, founded Louisiana, and terminated a most glorious career, before Havana in 1706, then serving, as the Commander in Chief of the French Squadron.* Having been attacked with the yellow fever, his health for the last three or four years of his eventful

* The work of Le Page Dupratz.

life, had become seriously impaired. The "colonies," (says Bancroft,) and the French Navy lost in him a hero, worthy of their regret." He was a man whom nature had endowed with the necessary qualifications to go through the difficult duties he had to perform. The Marquis of Denonville, who appreciated his talents, had recommended him to the French Court. In 1702, Louis the Fourteenth, who encouraged the young French nobility in Canada, raised him from the grade of a Captain of a Frigate to that of Commander of a man of war.* His death was a loss for Louisiana, for it is to be presumed, that had he lived longer, the colony would have made considerable progress; but that illustrious mariner, whose authority was so great, being dead, a long period elapsed, before a new Governor arrived from France.

Two years after the death of D'Iberville, M. Diron d'Artaguet came to Louisiana, in the capacity of *Com-*

* Gazette of France of the 15th July, 1702. Historical notes and manuscripts of M. A. Berthelot, Esquire. The historical manuscripts in the possession of the family of the late Amable Berthelot, Esqr., Member of the Canadian Parliament are of considerable interest and have not yet been published. Jacques Viger, Esqr., late Mayor of the City of Montreal, Canada, is also in possession of manuscripts of great value relating to the early history of America.

missaire-ordonnateur, an office, which corresponded with that of Intendant in the old French Colonies, investing him with civil and military authority. Some authors mention, that D'Artaguet was named Governor, but this is an error. This new functionary worked with little success to put the Colony in a better condition, and the inhabitants had long complained of the hardships, they had to undergo. Neither the soil nor the climate was adapted for agricultural or industrial pursuits, and they wished to return to their native country. However, they entertained quite a contrary opinion in Europe of the capability and resources of Louisiana, and notwithstanding France was then engaged in a most disastrous war, her possessions in America continued to attract a great deal of attention. In the course of this war the Island of Dauphine suffered much from the depredations of corsairs and pirates, and in the year 1711, they caused a damage to the Colonists, which was estimated at eighty thousand francs. D'Artaguet was not the man, who ought to have been chosen to direct the affairs of the Colony, at that critical period. He was weak-minded and vacillating, and his conduct was in striking contrast with that of D'Iberville, who infused a spirit of energy and determination amongst the peo-

ple. "A Colony (says Raynal*) founded on such an uncertain basis, could never prosper." The death of D'Iberville had spread consternation amongst them and having lost their leader, they were thrown into a state of despair. The Colonists thought, they were about being totally abandoned by France, and sought other localities, where they hoped to find better means of living. Towards the end of the year 1711, there were but twenty-eight families remaining, and these were reduced to a state of the greatest misery.

The French possessions in America were in the state in which they are herein described, when in the year 1712, Crozat demanded and obtained from the King of France the monopoly of the commerce of Louisiana, for a period of sixteen years.

It is however necessary, that we should direct our attention to what was occurring in the North Western

* The Abbe Raynal whose work on the "History of the two Indies," excited such attention at the time of its publication and increased his reputation, as an author and a statesman. His "Essay on the American Revolution," is justly esteemed as a master-piece of fine writing and pure philosophy. This work contributed much to enlighten the public mind in Europe, as to the true character of the contest, between the Colonies and England. Many passages in it are truly eloquent.

portion of the Continent, before we refer to any other matters, connected with the colonization of the southern part of America.

Mr. Bancroft says,* that before 1693, the Reverend Father Gravier began a mission among the Illinois, and became the founder of Kaskaskia, though it is not known in what year it was established. This presumption is founded on the contents of a letter, written by the Reverend Gabriel Marest, dated “*Aux Kaskaskias, autrement dit l’Immaculee Conception de la Sainte Vierge, le 9 Novembre, 1712*, in which mention is made of there having been for some years, an establishment at this point. He further states, that soon after the founding of Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Peoria were established. These statements are repeated in “Perkins’ Annals of the West,† and the authority, on which they are based, seems to be taken from a work, published in Paris in 1781, ‘*Lettres edifiantes*,’ 328, 339, 375. I have not seen any account, in the French histories, of the establishment of any place *as a permanent settlement* before that of the Forts Miami and Crevecoeur, and in an old map in my possession, which was published in

* Bancroft vol. 3d, 193.

† Perkins Annals of the West., page 55.

France after the year 1738, descriptive of America, whilst in the occupation of the Indian tribes, I observe a river, marked on this chart, as running in a South West-erly direction from Detroit, and named the "River St. Jerome, by which the Canadians come from Quebec," (*Riviere St. Jerome par ou les Canadiens viennent de Quebec.*) The outlet of this river is at a place, called "*Fort Staquado*," on the Ohio, which if it be the Wabash, as I am inclined to believe, this Fort must have occupied the site, at the junction of that river with the Ohio. The Canadians generally followed the course of the rivers, and the geographer, by indicating the river St. Jerome, as the course which they took, it is rather singular if it be the Wabash, that they should not have established themselves, along the shores of that river and the Ohio, and the Southern branch of the Mississippi, before they ascended as high up the river as the present sites of Kaskaskia and Cahokia. These latter settlements *are not marked on this old chart*, and although the geographers of that period may not have been very remarkable for accuracy in describing the country, nevertheless I am inclined to entertain doubts, whether other places were not established before the Canadians had settled either in Kaskaskia or Cahokia. In my opinion, Fort Creve-

cœur,* near Peoria, Illinois, might claim the honor of being the first permanent settlement of the “white men” in the West, for as we are informed, it was founded by La Salle, its claims to precedence in this respect are better, than those of either of the places which have been named. The matter is not of much importance, but as a historical fact, is worthy of further inquiry.

The historian Hennepin had said, “that those who would have the happiness, at some future period, to possess the lands of this agreeable and fertile country, would be under lasting obligations to those travellers, who showed them the way, and crossed Lake Erie, after a hundred leagues of difficult navigation.” These words had

* Some writers, amongst others “Coxe’s Coralana,” at page 32 of his work, says, that Fort Crevecœur was built on the SOUTH EAST BANK of the River Illinois, others locate it differently. In the historical view of Peoria, published lately by S. Dewitt Drown, there is a plan of the Fort, which is located by the writer, “at two or three miles East of Peoria.” Like other matters of historical inquiry, relating to discoveries in the West such as the dates of the establishments of Towns, villages, &c., nothing can be stated with certainty. In Mr. Drown’s work, and the Rev. Mr. Peck’s able sketches, which were concluded in the Republican of this City, on the 17th of August last may be found much useful and valuable information. Judge Breeze’s labours on this subject and Mr. Primm’s able address are too well known to need any reference to them.

hardly been pronounced, when in June 1700, M. de la Motte Cadillac, arrived at Detroit, with a hundred Canadians and a Missionary, to form an establishment. The colonists were delighted with the beauty of the country and the mildness of the climate. In the language of the writers of that period, "Nature spread its charms over the face of that delightful country." With its surface slightly undulated by picturesque elevations, its green prairies, its forests of oak, and of maple, intermingled here and there with specimens of the wild acacia, its running streams, and the beautiful small islands, dotted over the surface of its lakes, there was every thing to attract the attention and enrapture the imaginations of the newly arrived Colonists, particularly after leaving the bleak hills and snowy vales of Canada, their native country. Even at the present day, the Canadians, in the midst of their more enterprising brethren, still linger around the old homesteads of their ancestors, in that section of Michigan, and in the markets of Detroit, the old Canadian vehicles are to be found, in striking contrast with the more novel inventions of their industrious neighbours.

About this period, 1701, the English Colonists in America were beginning to be alarmed at the important position the French were assuming, in relation to the

affairs of this Continent. The latter power being in possession of Canada and the country bordering on the Great Lakes, was the rival of England, whose Colonies, were situated, near the seaboard. The policy of the French Government was to extend their sovereignty in the interior of America, and they could only do so, by cultivating the friendly feelings of the powerful Indian tribes, who wandered over the country. It was a vast and gigantic plan, which the ministers of Louis the Fourteenth had formed for the subjugation of this continent. They contemplated the establishment of a chain of forts, extending from Canada, on the one hand, to Louisiana, on the other, and with the Mississippi as their western boundary, they thought, it would not be difficult to drive away the English and obtain exclusive possession of the country. At that period, the British Colonies did not exceed two hundred and twenty-five thousand in population; they were scattered over an immense tract of country, from Massachusetts on the one hand, to the Carolinas on the other, and there was no concerted plan of action between them. The New England States did not comprise much more than one hundred thousand men, many of whom were engaged in agricultural pursuits, whenever their enemies, (the Indians) ceased from carrying on their predatory excursions, and afforded

an opportunity of employing themselves, in rural labour. The *Abenakis* were then a powerful tribe, whose strongholds were situated on their Northern frontier and they gave the Colonists quite sufficient trouble, in resisting their encroachments, without interfering in the contests, which were carried on, between the French and the other tribes, in the interior.

This led to that passive state, in which the British Colonists remained, up to the period of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, when from their increased numbers and powerful influence, they were commencing to give another direction to affairs, on this Continent.

But four years had elapsed, since the settlement of Detroit, when the flames of war were again kindled and it required all the energy and activity of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the Governor General of Canada, to quell the turbulent spirit of the Iroquoise confederation. The latter were the complete masters of the country, and their alliance was courted by both the French and the English. During this period and for a number of years, the cause of colonization was greatly impeded by these unremitting hostilities on the part of the Indian tribes. The history of this period is replete with accounts of the encroachments of the Indian tribes, on the French possessions in the West, and of the measures which they

adopted to repel them. The slightest cause was immediately seized hold of, to declare war between these numerous and powerful tribes and their weak enemies, the French. Several *voyageurs* from Canada travelled through the Western country for purposes of trade, but we read of no further settlements in the West for a number of years. The historical records of this period, relating to the discovery of the West, are very incomplete, and it is only of late years that any attention has been bestowed on the subject. These records consist almost exclusively of the "Relations of the Jesuits," several of whose works have only been lately discovered.*

From the year 1714 to 1728, there was nothing interesting in the annals of military warfare, in the West. In this year, however, the Canadians were again called to arms, and equipped an expedition, which is worthy

* Dr. O'Callaghan, author of the "History of New Netherlands" and the compiler of several valuable State papers, relating to the History of New York, has lately published a list of the works, which the Jesuits wrote, on the early history of this country. This small publication has since been translated into French, by Jacques Viger, Esquire, of Montreal, with several notes and corrections. It is a valuable compendium of the works of these writers.

We have also lately heard of the discovery of other "Relations" or accounts of their voyages in the West, in one of the Libraries, in Rome.

of being mentioned. In the long contests, which ensued between the Iroquoise confederation and the French, there is nothing remarkable, excepting that the history of this period is replete with accounts of most sanguinary battles, of these being followed by truces, which, almost as soon as they were entered into, were again broken and gave rise to scenes of the wildest disorder. Predatory excursions were made by roving Indians in the forest, into the settlements of the French at Detroit and Illinois, and it was difficult to exercise summary punishment on those offenders, who took refuge within the recesses of the forest. But in the beginning of the year 1728, the *Outagamis*, whose strongholds were situated on the shores of Lake Michigan, caused great annoyance to the French, by their frequent depredations and attacks on the settlement, at Detroit. This nation was distinguished for its peculiar mode of warfare and had become the object of the hatred of all the other tribes in the West. They were ferocious, cunning and cruel, they had resisted all attempts at overtures, on the part of the French, to enter into friendly relations with them, and although they suffered many defeats, no sooner were they dispersed, than they again appeared in increased numbers and committed great havoc and plunder. A military expedition was fitted out, to reduce

them to submission. It was placed under the command of M. de Ligneris and consisted of four hundred and fifty Canadians, and seven or eight hundred Indians. They left Montreal, in the commencement of June, and proceeded by a Northwardly course, to the point of their destination. They arrived at Michilimackinac, on the first of August, and at the head of Lake Michigan on the fourteenth of that month, after two months and nine days travelling. After a few engagements with a tribe, called "Les Malhomines or Folles-avoines," in which they were successful, they proceeded to the villages and hunting grounds of the Outagamis, which they found deserted, and after wandering about in those localities, for a short time, they retraced their steps and returned home. It was during this expedition, that the French directed their attention more particularly to further discoveries in the North West. They had succeeded in tracing the course of the two great rivers and of all the great Lakes, in the Northern part of the Continent, they had ascended the tributaries of the Mississippi, which take their sources in the Rocky Mountains, they had even attempted to find a North Western passage to the Pacific, but in this they did not succeed, although we read in the works of Lepage Dupratz, that an Indian of the name of Yazou had accomplished the

journey. The French had tried on several occasions to find a passage across the mountains to the Ocean, but I do not find it recorded in any work, to which I have had access, that they were successful in attaining their object. About this period (1729) the attention of the French Government was directed to the prosecution of further discoveries in America, and for a few years they made several fruitless attempts to engage navigators and traders to direct their steps North westerly, in the hope of finding the Ocean. But few were found to undergo the dangers and perils of the journey, and it was only in the year 1738, that an expedition was formed, under the auspices of M. de Beauharnais, the Governor, the object of which was to make further discoveries, in the North west. M. de Maurepas was foremost in setting this enterprise on foot, he was the Minister of France, at that period, and was evidently a man of great genius and learning, full of enterprise, and resolved to carry on with vigor the great work of exploration, on this Continent. He chose M. de la Verandrye to be the Chief of the expedition. This man had neither the energy nor the ambition of Perrot or La Salle, but he had some experience in travelling in the forests and a satisfactory result might have been expected from his labours. He left Canada in the year 1738, with orders to

take possession of all the countries he might discover, in the name of the French King, and to examine attentively, what advantages might be obtained from establishing a communication between Canada or Louisiana and the Pacific ocean. The Government contemplated the extension of trading posts to the North West as far as the ocean, and the acquisition of great wealth from the peltries and other products, furnished by the Indians. At that period, the attention of Europeans began to be directed towards the countries, in the North Western part of America, and although their researches had not as yet proved very successful, they thought, they would at no distant day realize the advantages, which would arise from the discovery of this Continent, and the unbounded wealth, which they fondly imagined, was contained within the limits of the Western Hemisphere. They knew not to what point, the boundaries of America extended, and as their bold and fearless adventurers had advanced within the recesses of the forest, they found there was no limit, no end to their journey; they were always proceeding in a Westerly course, and yet they did not meet with the Ocean; it seemed to them, as if this long looked for object receded as they advanced, that it was a mere dream of the imagination. Many of them returned disheartened to their country, and

abandoned the project, as one, which was fraught with danger and difficulties of no ordinary character, and which even if they succeeded in accomplishing, would be attended with little benefit to them. M. de la Verandrye passed Lake Superior, advanced towards the foot of Lake Winnepeg and then ascending the River Assiniboil, approached the Rocky Mountains, which he did not however reach, having become engaged in a war with the Indians, in which he lost several of his men and becoming disconcerted at the difficulties, which surrounded him, he abandoned the enterprise and returned to Canada. This traveller mentioned to the learned Swedish historian Kalm, whom he afterwards met in the year 1749, that he discovered in the territory, to the North West, at a distance of nine hundred leagues from Montreal, massive stone columns of great height and durability, in some instances, one placed over the other, forming a kind of wall, and in others, consisting of one large block only; he does not mention, that there were any superscriptions or words, marked on these stones, with the exception of one of the size of about one foot in length, by about four or five inches in breadth, on both sides of which were some unknown marks, resembling letters, the meaning of which they did not understand. This small stone was afterwards sent to the Sec-

retary of State, in Paris. Many of the missionaries, whom Kalm saw in Canada, assured him, that the letters, which were engraved on it, resembled very much those, which were in use amongst the Tartars, and from this circumstance and others, which were afterwards mentioned by other travellers, must have originated the belief, which was very generally entertained, in the commencement of the eighteenth century, of the existence of a great Asiatic emigration of tribes from Tartary, the progenitors of at least a part of the Indian tribes, wandering over the Continent. The late discoveries in Central America would also tend to fortify this hypothesis.* However it may be, it gave rise to some very learned disquisitions, amongst the French and Spanish *savans*, to account for the origin of our Indian tribes. The voluminous and elaborate works of De Pauw and Bailli d'Engel, may be enumerated amongst the former, whilst the work of Gregorio Garcias, in *folio* "*Origen de los Indios de el Nuovo Mundo et Indios Occidentales*," published in Madrid, in the year 1729, may be mentioned amongst the latter. There has been no ques-

* P. F. Cabrera, 'Description of an Ancient City, discovered in the Kingdom of Guatemala,' London quarto, 1822.

† Stephen's Travels in Central America.

tion, even in modern times, on which such a vast amount of learning has been expended, as that, respecting the origin of the savage tribes of this Continent, and although volumes have been written on this abstruse subject, we are yet as much in the dark, as ever, as to the manner, in which this Continent first became inhabited.

The French gave the name of the Country of the Western Ocean, "*Pays de la mer de l'Ouest*" to the territory, discovered by M. de la Verandrye, because they thought, it was not far from the sea; they established a chain of small trading posts, to keep the Indians under subjection, and to carry on their commerce in peltries. The post which was at the greatest distance from any settlement of the French, was called "Queens Post;" it was situated at about a hundred leagues, to the West of Lake Winnepeg, on the Assinniboil river. Three other forts or posts were afterwards erected to the West of Queen's Post, the farthest one being called Pascoyac, after the river of that name.

Under the administration of M. de la Jonquiere, another expedition was set on foot, having the same object in view. The French Intendant Bigot was then in Canada; for the purpose of trading with the Indians, as well as to make discoveries, he formed an association,

which consisted of the Governor and himself, M. Breard, Comptroller of the Marine, Legardeur de St. Pierre, an officer, distinguished for his bravery and well liked by the Indians, and De Marin, a Sea-Captain, held in great fear by the Savages, for the cruelty of his disposition. To the two latter, was assigned the accomplishment of the objects of the Association. Marin was to ascend the Missouri, in order to discover if there were another river flowing to the Ocean, whilst St. Pierre was to take the direction of Queen's Post, and endeavor to meet his fellow-traveller, at some point, which was designated by them. The object, which they had in view to make scientific discoveries in the West, appeared however to be subordinate to that of amassing wealth from their voyage, for they returned, after a short journey, bringing back with them a large quantity of peltries, the value of which was immense and served to swell the coffers of the Association.

We read of no further discoveries, in the North Western part of this Continent, which are worthy of being mentioned, unless it be those made by American travellers, at a much later period, whose efforts in the cause of the colonization of the West yield only in interest to what the early pioneers accomplished in the discovery of the Valley of the Mississippi.

In the year 1735, the tocsin of war was again heard and although hostilities did not commence until several years after, preparations were being made by the two great antagonistic nations, on this Continent, in their struggle for ascendancy. In this year (1735) M. de Van Ransaeller, Patroon or Lord of the Manor, in Albany, New York, paid a visit to the Governor in Canada, and informed him, that there was a more favorable feeling existing between the people of that Colony, and those on the other side of the frontier, and deprecating (even if war should break out,) any hostile proceedings, between the French and the English settlers, in that Colony. In 1740, war between England and France, appeared to be more imminent than ever, and M. de Beauharnais, under orders from the French Court, put the fortresses of Chambly, St. Frederick and Niagara, in a state of defence. He also courted the alliance of the Indian tribes, whose assistance would greatly contribute to the success of his cause. Their assistance was very desirable, in as much, as at that period (1741) there were upwards of fifteen thousand able-bodied men, who were reckoned as warriors, amongst the Indian tribes, from the territory occupied by the Abenakis to the North, to the Mobiliens and Choctaws to the South.

We shall now recur to what was passing in the South

Western portion of America, but before we conclude this part of our subject, we cannot but express our regret, that the historical records, contained in the accounts of the Missionaries, relating to the discoveries in the North West are so unsatisfactory and incomplete, that it is almost impossible to enter more extensively into the narration of facts, bearing on this interesting subject of inquiry. With further developments, made in the works of the early missionaries (some in manuscript) which are, now and then, being discovered in the libraries on the Continent of Europe, no doubt, most important information will be obtained and the labours of the student of the history of this period will be greatly facilitated.*

We have already mentioned, that in the year 1712, Crozat obtained, from the French Government, the exclusive privilege of trading with Louisiana, for a period of sixteen years. The Crown of France was then engaged in hostile preparations, for the part it was taking

* We read in the Public Journals, a short time ago, of the discovery of several old manuscripts of the Missionaries, in a library, belonging to the Dominican Friars, in Rome. It would be worth while for any one, to make further researches in the libraries in Continental Europe. He would no doubt, obtain a mass of information, which would be of great interest to the American reader.

in the affairs of the Spanish succession, and but little attention was directed to the colonization of its territories in the southern part of this Continent. Government relied more on the energies of private associations or individual enterprise, to carry out its plans, for the development of the resources of this country, and it was with this view, that it delegated a part of its authority to a French merchant, who had acquired a large fortune in his commercial undertakings, and who had already been of great service to the Government, in bringing into France a considerable quantity of the precious metals, when her finances were being nearly exhausted and she stood greatly in need of such assistance. This merchant was Crozat. He had been named Secretary and Counsellor of the Royal household and held an important place, in the department of finances. To the exclusive grant, with which he had been invested of trading with the Colony, was added the privilege of exploring and working whatever mines might be found and Crozat set about the performance of his task, with his mind intent on the great advantages, which would spring from the enterprise.

Louis the Fourteenth, named M. de la Motte Cadillac, Governor in place of M. de Muys, who died on his way to America. M. Duclos had the office of *Commissaire*

ordonnateur (a Commissioner with extended authority, but subordinate to that of the Governor) in the place of M. d'Artaguette, who had returned to France, and a Superior Council was established, for three years, composed of these two functionaries, and a Clerk, with power to add to their number. This Council was a general tribunal for civil and criminal matters, with an unlimited jurisdiction, as to the amount involved, or the nature of the offence. Their proceedings were to be regulated by the Customs of Paris.* M. de la Motte Cadillac disembarked in Louisiana, in the year 1713, and in order to give him an interest in the commerce of the Colony, Crozat had associated him, as a partner in the concern. At that period, Louisiana was only looked upon, as a great *entrepot* for Commerce with the neighboring countries, but little wealth was found within its borders, and the people were in a depressed condition, arising out of the difficulty of finding a market, for

* The customs of Paris, were certain traditionary regulations, which from their antiquity had obtained the force of law, within the PRE-VOTE or VICOMTE of the City of Paris, and were, I believe, reduced to writing under the reign of Charles the Seventh of France. They are to this day in force in the Province of Lower Canada, and form the whole of the municipal law of that country. They are justly esteemed, as an excellent legal Code, by both French and English lawyers.

their small surplus products. Crozat and Cadillac were alive to the emergency ; they loaded a vessel with different products for Vera Cruz, but the Vice Roy of Mexico, acting under that exclusive commercial policy, which was then in full vigor, issued an order to prevent the disembarkation of the cargo, and directed that the vessel should withdraw from the harbour. Notwithstanding the result of this first attempt, Cadillac was not discouraged and resolved to make a trial by land. He chose M. Juchereau de St. Denis, an intrepid Canadian voyageur, who had been in Louisiana for about fourteen years.* This traveller made two voyages in Mexico, and after having encountered several adventures of a rather romantic character, he returned from his second journey, in April, 1719, having accomplished but little during the excursion. Whilst the Governor of Louisiana was seeking for a market for the surplus products of the Colony, or the goods, which he had brought with him from France, he also sent emissaries to trade with the Natchez and other tribes on the Mississippi, amongst whom they found several Englishmen from Virginia, who were established in that quarter, and who had as much difficulty in quelling the turbulent spirit of the Chickasas as their

* Le Page Dupratz work.

own countrymen had in their previous relations, with the Iroquois or Five Nations. The same contest, which had been so frequently witnessed between rival tribes in the North, was now being carried on in the South, and whilst some were friendly and actuated by proper motives, in their relations with the Europeans, others were found, who were inclined to pursue a contrary course, and to visit the aggressions of their neighbours, with unrelenting fury. On the one hand, we find, about this time, (1720) several tribes with the Alabamians and the Chaetans making excursions into the Carolinas, and committing the most frightful ravages, whilst on the other the Natchez contemplated the destruction of their French neighbours, which was only prevented by the energy and promptitude, with which the Governor acted. It was on this occasion, that the Natchez found themselves compelled to make amends for their conduct, for with the force, which De Bienville, who was in command in this campaign, had with him, he made these savages erect a Fort, in the very midst of their village, to serve as a protection for those, whom they had intended to destroy. It was the first act of humiliation, to which the Chief of the Natchez was obliged to submit, and it must have wounded his pride, to find himself reduced to such subjection, especially for one, who pre-

tended to be descended from the Sun, and who bore the name, as a mark of his superiority amongst the tribes, and as a reflection of the light of that great luminary, amongst the benighted nations of America. This Fort, at Natchez on the Mississippi, was built on an eminence of two hundred feet in height and was called *Rosalie*, after the name of Madame de Pontchartrain, whose husband being a Minister of State, was the guardian and protector of the Lemoine family, from which De Bienville sprung. It was in the following year (1715) that M. de Tisne founded Natchitoches, now a rich and flourishing city, on Red river in Louisiana.

Notwithstanding this success against the Indian tribes, Crozat's prospects in Louisiana were becoming every day more desperate; he had hardly been there four years, when he observed the little commerce, that he found on his arrival in a languishing state. The monopoly with which the French King had invested him, seemed to crush all spirit of enterprise, amongst the people, for before his arrival, the inhabitants of Mobile, and of the Island of Dauphiny exported provisions, timber and furs to Pensacola, the Islands of Martinique, St. Domingo, and to France, and received back in exchange, the merchandise and other articles, which they required to trade with the Indians, but Crozat had no

sooner exercised the exclusive privileges granted to him by the French Government, than they were obliged to abandon this, their only source of trade, and hence, their depressed condition, a few years after his arrival amongst them. There were no longer to be seen any vessels, arriving from or sailing to the West India Islands, and Crozat prohibited all commerce with the Spaniards at Pensacola, so that they were restricted in the use of specie, which they obtained in the trade with them, and they were not allowed to traffic, excepting with Crozat's agents, and at prices which were fixed by them. The price of furs, was fixed so low, that they directed their attention to dealing with the Canadian traders, who gave them higher prices, and this hitherto profitable branch of Colonial commerce, which had enriched the people of Louisiana now sought other channels, in which more remunerating prices could be obtained for these products. Crozat could not fail to perceive the altered state of affairs in the Colony and he addressed several remonstrances to the French Government, which met with no attention whatsoever. Having made heavy advances to promote the prosperity of the country and finding all his endeavours to carry on a profitable trade with Mexico, had failed, disconcerted at the state of apathy, which seemed to exist, amongst the

Colonists, and alarmed at his future prospects, Crozat adopted the resolution of surrendering to the French Government all the privileges, which were granted to him, by the Royal Charter, which he accordingly did, and thus this monopoly ceased, which was certainly attended with very disastrous results to the Colony.

No sooner was this monopoly surrendered into the hands of the French Government, than another and a more exclusive one was established, certainly not more fortunate in its results, but exercising a more immediate and important bearing on the prospects and fortunes of the French Colonists, in America. The establishment of the great "Western Company," which was to immortalize the name of John Law and to connect it with schemes, involving the ruin of many a family, was the next measure which was adopted by the French Government, with a view to promote the colonization of Louisiana. How far this was adapted to forward the objects for which it was established, has become matter of general history, and the failure of the scheme, whilst it was felt more seriously in Europe, operated greatly to retard the advancement of the French Colonies, in America. The great "Mississippi bubble" as it was called, was a plain, palpable failure, but as it had a wonderful effect, in directing public attention to the affairs of the New

World, its plan and ultimate operation are worthy of being mentioned.

A Scotch adventurer, by the name of John Law, being desirous of attracting public attention by some grand scheme, in which he was to take a prominent part, availed himself of the deplorable state of the French finances, to attain the object, which he had in view. Naturally of an ardent temperament and great genius, he had applied himself to the study of the science of political economy and in the depressed state of financial affairs in France, he conceived, that that country was the fittest scene, to commence his labours. Accordingly, hither he repaired and with the sanction of the then Regent, he began the establishment of a Bank, in the year 1716, consisting of a capital formed of twelve hundred shares, at a thousand crowns, (*ecus*) each. With the knowledge he had obtained from his previous studies in a science, which had not then been dignified by the application of such minds, as Turgot and Smith, he appeared before the reigning monarch in France, as a person, who could retrieve the country from all its embarrassments, and his schemes, plausible at first, were received with great favor by the Government. What an unexpected and almost infallible remedy his project appeared to be, to sink the national debt of France,

which had increased to such an enormous sum, that the Government was on the verge of bankruptcy, and the confidence of the people in its stability was all but lost? The paper money, and the imaginary gold and silver mines of Louisiana were to be the grand *panacea* for all the evils, under which France laboured. We can only account for the readiness, with which these schemes were adopted and so favorably received at the time, by the deplorable state, to which France was reduced, and these illusions, which would have vanished at any other period, as so many idle dreams of the imagination, were eagerly seized upon by the King, the Ministers and people, and even spread abroad, amongst neighbouring nations. They only show how credulous is the human mind in moments of difficulty and danger, and how easily the most hopeless project is adopted to afford relief to temporary evils. Such was Law's system, and such it turned out to be. Alluring in its prospects, and holding out hopes of the acquisition of enormous wealth from the existence of fabulous mines of the precious metals, along the shores of the Mississippi, thousands were found, who readily embarked in the undertaking, and thousands met with a disastrous fate, involving their families and themselves in ruin. To the acute and penetrating qualities of Law's mind, he saw at once, that

he might work on the foundation, which had been laid by other travellers and writers in America, and the superstructure, which he raised, on which the too credulous people gazed with admiration, and which they thought would be enduring, was nevertheless doomed to fall to the ground, with a crash, which would involve all in its ruins.

Ponce de Leon had no sooner reached the shores of Florida in 1512, than he spread a report abroad, that the country was filled with precious metals. Neither Philippe de Narvaez, nor Ferdinand de Soto had discovered any gold mines, although they had been for years in search of them. The French and the Spaniards had made many unsuccessful attempts to seek for riches in the bowels of the earth, and at this period, but vague suspicions were entertained in America even amongst those, who were most sanguine at first, of the existence of mines in Louisiana or the colonies adjacent thereunto, but in Europe a contrary opinion had always prevailed; they fancied in their imaginations, that some day or other, the earth would yield up its wealth, and the people of Europe would be enriched by the enormous quantity of the precious metals, which would be brought from America. How idle the hope! how fatal the delusion! yet John Law found in the very existence of that

belief all the success, which he expected from his visionary schemes.

The new banking institution, which he established served as a means to prop up for a time the public credit, and it certainly did some good, in meeting its obligations, and was a source of great convenience, but its operations were necessarily limited, and the thoughts of its projector were directed more than ever to the gold mines of Louisiana, and the wealth he expected in that quarter. In the year 1717, the "Western Company," (*Compagnie d'Occident*) was again re-established, with Law for its director, and Louisiana was ceded to the Company, with other privileges, including the tobacco trade and the commerce with Senegal. From the unlimited terms of the charter, it was intended, as at first, in Crozat's case, to be a monopoly and it is impossible to say, whether it was attended with advantage or disadvantage, in the then state of the Colony. In Crozat's case, it had certainly proved unsuccessful, but the Colony had become so reduced, that nothing could hardly render the condition of the people worse.

However it might be, the shares of the Western Company were paid for in State notes, (*billets d'Etat*), which were taken at *par*, although they were not worth more than fifty per cent, in commerce. In a moment,

the capital of a hundred millions was taken up, each being anxious to be the holder of paper scrip, which they expected would be shortly paid in gold and silver, from the mines of Louisiana. The creditors of the Government, who thought they were ruined by the enormous depreciation of the national finances, eagerly laid hold of this speculation, as their only means of safety. Rich men embarked nearly all their property in the undertaking, and men of all classes and ranks in society united in availing themselves of its probable advantages. Not satisfied with holding shares, in this great Mississippi bubble, they directed their attention to acquiring landed estates in the South, and the people of France, Switzerland and England vied with each other to send the greatest number of emigrants to the land of promise, where after three years service, to defray the expenses of the voyage, hopes were held out to them, that they would become proprietors and have a permanent interest in the soil.

In the mean time, the Governor and chief Commissioner of Louisiana had been removed from office, and M. de l'Espinay succeeded M. de la Motte Cadillac and M. Hubert took Duclos' place; some time after M. de Bienville was appointed Commander in Chief of all Louisiana. The French then occupied Biloxi, the Island

of Dauphine, Mobile, Natchez, and Natchitoches on Red river. They had also commenced establishments in other parts of the country. Biloxi had become the chief place of business, and the Port of Isle Dauphine was abandoned for the more convenient location at Vessel Island, (*Isle aux Vaisseaux*.) All these places were situated on or near the sea-shore, thus showing, that the early settlers placed more dependence on the arts of commerce, than on agricultural pursuits, the country near Biloxi and the sea being unfit for such a purpose. At this period (1717,) the attention of the Colonists was directed to the choice of a location for a City, on the banks of the Mississippi, and they selected a spot, on the left shore, about thirty leagues from the Sea, which De Bienville had before surveyed and which he thought, was the most favorable location for a great commercial emporium. In that year, this military officer with a few poor carpenters and other artisans went there, and laid the foundations of a City, which even to the present day, is the chief commercial metropolis of the South, and which he named New Orleans, in honor of the Duke of Orleans, then Regent of France. M. de Pailoux was named Governor of the place, and it was only in the following year (1718,) that the first vessel arrived in the Port of New Orleans, where they were surprised

to find sixteen feet of water in the shallowest part of the Mississippi. It was not then generally believed, that the river was navigable so high up for vessels of a large class. It was only in the year, seventeen hundred and twenty-two, that the seat of Government was transferred to New Orleans, a delay, which was partly attributable to the reluctance of the Colonists to lose sight of the sea, and to go into the interior of the country.

The "Western Company" was no sooner in possession of Louisiana, than they began to organise a regular government and to encourage an extensive system of emigration, for the purpose of settling the country and working those mines, the produce of which, they expected would liquidate the national debt of France, which had increased to such an immense sum, that fears were entertained for the safety of the monarchy, and the stability of the empire. In the new administration, De Bienville was named Governor General, and chief director of the affairs of the Company, in America; M. de Pailloux was appointed Major General with M. Dugue de Boisbriand, as Commander in Illinois, and M. Diron, brother of the old Chief-commissioner, as Inspector General of the Military forces.

Louisiana was ceded to the Company in the year

seventeen hundred and seventeen, and in the following spring eight hundred Colonists embarked at Rochelle, on board of three vessels for that country. There were several gentlemen and old officers on board of these vessels, amongst whom was M. Lepage Dupratz, whose interesting memoirs of the history of the South and West have already been mentioned in this work. These emigrants were dispersed in different sections of the Colony. The gentlemen and officers had left their native Country in the hope of obtaining large concessions of land, wherein they wished to establish the feudal tenure, and to live as noblemen and lords of the manor, a system of seigniorial tenure, which had been before introduced into Canada. Law himself showed the example, he obtained a land of four square leagues, in Arkansas, which was erected into a Dutchy, and he assembled fifteen hundred men, Germans and French, from the Provinces to inhabit the territory; he intended also sending six thousand Germans from the Palatinate, to serve as vassals, under this new tenure. But it was at this period, (1720,) that the edifice, which he had erected with such care, fell to the ground, the vast schemes he had formed for ameliorating the financial condition of France proved abortive, and there arose a storm in that country, and its colonies in America, which, as a whirlwind, swept

everything before it, and involved the rich and the poor, the high and the low, the Metropolitan and the Colonist, in one common ruin, and shook the foundations of public and private fortunes, in the Old and the New Worlds. Its disasters fell heavily on Louisiana. The Western Company was still sending an immense number of emigrants to America, and many were on their journey, when the celebrated "Mississippi bubble" burst and of course, they were left without means to provide for their wants, on their arrival in this new Country. They were disembarked on the sterile shores of Biloxi, after having suffered the fatigue of a long sea voyage, and here they were left unprovided for, and without being able to obtain a livelihood. Never before the year 1721, when this occurred, were the Colonists so numerous, there were not sufficient vessels at Biloxi to send them up the Mississippi, provisions failed, numbers were without food to eat, and more than five hundred died of starvation, of whom two hundred belonged to Law's establishment. Fear and melancholy operated on the minds of the Colonists, disunion and discord followed in their train, and companies were formed, (a Swiss company in particular,) who with their officers at their head left the colony in disgust and went over to Carolina.*

* Charlevoix, "Journal historique."

It was in consequence of these disasters, that the Colonists made up their minds to abandon Biloxi, where they had met with nothing but misfortunes, and to select New Orleans, as their place of residence. In a short time, they became more reconciled to their embarrassments and privations and set about looking for favorable locations, where they might depend for a while, on the pursuits of agriculture and the chase for subsistence. It was in this manner, that several settlements, now flourishing, were at first established. Had it not have been for the disasters at Biloxi, many years might have elapsed before the Colonists would have emigrated to the shores of the Mississippi, and as it turned out, these new settlements progressively advanced, until they became permanent places for business, and the centres of a large commercial and agricultural population. The historian of the Indies, the celebrated Abbe Raynal, who regards emigration on an extensive scale, as the worst means for making a country thrive, views these gradual and progressive movements, as the certain indications of a well-founded prosperity, and of the rapid improvement of a new country. Besides the four or five principal towns, established at different periods by the French, they laid the foundations of settlements, at Yazou, Baton-rouge, Bayou-goula, Ecores-

blancs, at Pointe-coupee, Black river, Paska-ogoula, and even as far as Illinois. Most of these places continue to thrive and are now important locations for business.

Law's scheme had failed and the political economists of Europe were engaged in disputes, as to the wisdom of the plan he had formed, for ameliorating the financial condition of France, amongst whom Raynal and Barbe Marbois, took opposite sides. The discussion was attended with very little benefit, inasmuch as the evils, which sprung from the system, were *felt* by the people, and were the best arguments to convince them of the utter absurdity of the project. At this crisis, in the history of the New World, events were transpiring in Europe, which had an important bearing on the affairs of America, and to these, it will be necessary to direct our attention.

In the month of August 1718, the celebrated Quadruple alliance had been formed between the four great powers of Europe. The peace of Europe had been established, as it was supposed, on a solid and permanent basis, when through the intrigues of the celebrated "Monk of Parma," Alberoni, the minister of Philip V, the flames of war were again illumined on the European Continent and France prepared for the contest with Spain. The circumstances which gave rise to this war,

partook somewhat of a romantic interest, and are detailed at length, in the histories of that period. The ambitious designs of Alberoni had been frustrated by the discovery of secret dispatches in the possession of the Abbe of Porto-Carrero, who had been intercepted on his way through the mountain passes of the Sierra-Morena, to confer with the Spanish minister. England had also taken umbrage at the proffered support, which Alberoni had promised to the young pretender, Prince Charles, and under colour of being a party to the alliance, willingly united with France, to crush the ambitious projects of the Cardinal-minister of Spain. M. de Serigny was sent to America, with three vessels, to take possession of Pensacola, a Spanish port, which was much needed by France, on account of its proximity to Louisiana, and its being so easily accessible, for purposes of trade with the West India Islands. Don John Peter Matamoras was in command of the garrison. The place being attacked by land, by seven hundred Canadians, French and Indians, under the orders of M. de Chateauguay and by sea, by M. de Serigny, surrendered, (1719,) after a slight resistance and the garrison and part of the inhabitants embarked on board of two French vessels, for Havana. On their journey thither, they fell in with the Spanish fleet, which took posses-

sion of them, and carried them as prizes into the port, which they had expected to enter as conquerors.

The news of the surrender of Pensacola created a great sensation in New Spain and Mexico. The Vice Roy, the Marquis of Valero despatched a squadron, consisting of twelve vessels of war and carrying eight hundred and fifty men, under the command of Don Alphonso Carrascosa to invest the Town. At the sight of the Spanish fleet, a part of the garrison deserted to the enemy, whilst M. de Chateauguay was also obliged to capitulate. Some of those who had surrendered were enlisted in the Spanish service, and a number of the deserters were treated with great severity by Carrascosa, who confined them for a length of time, in the holds of the vessels. Don Matamoras was re-established in command of the garrison at Pensacola, with sufficient troops, to defend the town, in case of another attack.

After this victory, the Spanish Vice Roy resolved to drive away the French from their possessions in America, and despatched Don Carnejo with a sufficient force to effect this object. Don Carrascosa was sent round to the Island of Dauphiny and Mobile, with a similar purpose in view, but both these expeditions were unsuccessful, and the Spaniards suffered nothing but disasters.

A detachment of troops, forming part of Carrascosa's command was completely routed by M. de Vilinville, at Mobile, whilst Carrascosa himself was repulsed at Guilory, a small Island near the Isle Dauphiny, around which he had been reconnoitering, to attempt to gain a favorable opportunity to attack the French. The brave Serigny was his competitor on this occasion, and with nearly equal forces compelled the Spanish General to depart from the Island.

The French having been successful in their hostile measures against the Spaniards, now became in their turn the aggressors. De Bienville again invested Pensacola by land, and the brave Count de Champmelin attacked it by sea. The combat was of short duration—Carrascosa had attempted to blockade the entry of the Port with his fleet, and prepared for the contest. The French vessels poured a brisk cannonade into the sides of the Spanish frigates and in a short time, their flags were lowered, and the French were the conquerors. De Bienville continued firing upon the town, during the whole of the night, and on the following morning it surrendered to the enemy. There were twelve to fifteen hundred men, made prisoners of war, amongst whom were several officers. The French dismantled a

part of the fortifications, and left a small garrison, in charge of the remainder.

It was after the termination of this war, that Louis XV., thought fit to commend in praiseworthy terms the conduct of those Canadians, who had served in Louisiana. Whilst the Colonists, who had emigrated from France were always discontented at the state of things existing in that country, and were daily deserting to join the English, in the neighbouring colonies, the Canadians remained faithful adherents to the French crown in America, and were those, on whom chief reliance was placed, whenever it became necessary to assume a hostile attitude either against internal or external foes. De Bienville, De Serigny, De St. Denis, De Vilinville and De Chateauguay were Canadians by birth or by descent, and as it has already been shown, distinguished themselves on several occasions at very critical periods, in the French Colonial history of America, and were entrusted by the French Government, with high and commanding offices. Mr. Bancroft has paid them a well deserved compliment in his work on the History of the United States, and other writers have united, in giving them credit for the bravery they evinced, on several very trying occasions and for the intrepidity and daring;

they manifested, either as pioneers in clearing the forest, or as warriors on the field of battle, De Serigny was named Captain of a French frigate; St. Denis was made a member of the order of St. Louis, and De Chat-eauguay was placed in command of a garrison at St. Louis of Mobile.

The contest was over; the war between France and Spain was brought to a termination. Alberoni, disgraced, was escorted by French troops to the confines of Italy, where he ended his days in obscurity, after having embroiled Europe in all the horrors of war. Peace was declared on the 17th of February 1720, and the contending parties laid down their arms, in the Eastern and Western hemispheres, having abandoned all that each had acquired in the latter, during the war, including Pensacola, for the possession of which, such sanguinary contests had been waged, in the early periods of the campaign. Pensacola again became part of the Spanish domains, in America.

This treaty of peace was soon followed by one with the Chickasas and the Natchez, who had taken advantage of the war to commit hostilities against Louisiana. The Colony was in a state of tranquillity, which it had not enjoyed for several years, when the people were again exposed to heavy disasters, arising from the effects

of a terrific storm, which laid desolate many of the towns, and several habitations in different parts of the Colony. This occurred on the 12th of September 1722, and its effects were more seriously felt by the inhabitants of New Orleans and Biloxi, than elsewhere. They were obliged to re-build these Cities, which suffered so much, that scarcely a house was left standing.

The year 1726 was the last one of De Bienville's administration, which had been rendered so difficult in consequence of the errors committed by Crozat, and the failure of Law's scheme. Notwithstanding these disadvantages the Colonists had been able to contend successfully against the aggressions of Spain and to preserve their possessions in America. De Bienville returned to France and was succeeded in the administration of the Government, by M. de Perrier. At this period, there was a regular government organised in Louisiana, and it does not fall within the scope of this work to detail minutely the events, that occurred during each successive administration. What had a direct tendency to promote the cause of European colonization, along the shores of that river, (the history of the discovery of which was alone the object of this work) has been noticed, but it would occupy more space, than could be assigned within the limits of this publication to give an

account, however succinct or brief it might be, of what followed, after the establishment of a regular government in Louisiana.

There is, however, an event of some importance, which occurred during this period (1729,) which it would not be right to pass over in silence. I allude to the "Natchez massacre."

The "Western Company" had given place to the "Company of the Indies," which was established in 1723, and of which the Duke of Orleans was made Governor. Their charter granted privileges, which extended over different European possessions, in Asia, Africa and America, and whilst they exercised temporary sovereignty, in various parts of the world, their labours in America seem, by all accounts, to have been productive of but little benefit to the Colonists. Indeed the little good, which the Western Company had been able to do, as far as the cause of colonization was concerned, might compare favorably with what appears to have been effected by the establishment of the Company of the Indies, in Louisiana. In the collisions, which frequently occurred, arising out of the division of the powers of government, the local administration of affairs in Louisiana, was considerably weakened, and the Indian tribes took advantage of it.

Notwithstanding the Colonists thought that they had reduced the savages to a state of complete subjection, from the length of time, they had been at peace with each other, they were astonished to find, that a plot had been for some time in existence, either to exterminate them or drive them away from the Colony. Whilst we cannot but admire the efforts, which the aboriginal inhabitants of this Continent have made to preserve their sovereignty, which was destined to fall before the march of progressive civilization, and whilst doubts might well be entertained as to the right of Europeans to dispossess them of the soil, without adequately remunerating them, or giving them other hunting grounds, whereon to gain a precarious subsistence, nevertheless, this "Natchez massacre" may be regarded as such an act of perfidy and cruelty towards their French neighbours, as to entirely deprive them of sympathy. The blow was to be struck simultaneously throughout the Colony, and for the wrongs which they thought they endured, their vengeance knew no limits. Every man, woman and child, were doomed to utter destruction, their habitations were to be razed to the ground, and not a vestige was to be left of French sovereignty in America. The French had always been on good terms with most of the Indian tribes, as the Illinois, the Ar-

kansas, and the Tonicas; but the Iroquois and Chickasas tribes had been their inveterate enemies. It has been said, by some writers, that the English Colonists in Carolina, and along the shores of the Atlantic, had sent secret emissaries amongst these tribes, to excite them to acts of hostility against the French, but I am inclined to doubt this assertion. The English, no doubt viewed with a jealous eye, the occupation of this country by the French, from the shores of the Ohio, to the Gulf of Mexico, and it might have been their policy to give the Indian tribes, an unfavorable opinion of their French neighbours. But England was not then at war with France, and the English Colonists feared too much the hostile incursions of the Abenakis, the Hurons and other tribes, in the neighbourhood of the French possessions in the North, to excite the savages to pursue the same course, against the French Colonists, in the South.

Whilst preparations were being made for the indiscriminate massacre of the Europeans in Louisiana, the latter were, for some time, not aware of the extent of the conspiracy against them. They had heard of the existence of the plot, but they feigned, that they were entirely ignorant of it. The day was approaching, when the axe was to be raised and the fatal tomahawk to be

used, to remove the scalps of so many of their countrymen. M. de Chepar was in command at Natchez. Although that officer had had a few quarrels with the Indians, they so far concealed their enmity, and acted with such dissimulation, that they made him believe, they were his friends, and De Chepar was so anxious to avoid giving them the least cause for apprehension, of a change of his sentiments towards them, that he actually imprisoned seven Frenchmen, who wished to arm themselves, to be protected against surprise. He appeared to be actuated by such blind fatality, as to allow sixty savages to enter the Fort, and to permit others to lodge with the Colonists, and even received some of them in his own house. This would hardly be believed, were it not that Charlevoix, a cotemporary historian positively asserts it.

The conspirators were ready for action ; the day and the hour had been fixed, when the massacre was to be commenced, but the savages, who had now so far succeeded, as to enter the Fort, and be in the midst of the Colonists, had their cupidity so much excited, by the arrival of barges, laden with rich merchandise, for the garrison, that they resolved to strike the blow at that moment, and not to await the expiration of the time, which had been fixed for the general massacre through-

out the country. This precipitation, whilst it was fatal to those Colonists, who were at Natchez, was the means of saving others in the West and South of America, from partial if not from total annihilation.

In order that the conspirators at Natchez might get possession of fire-arms to effect their purpose, they feigned, that they were preparing for a hunting expedition, to furnish game for the Commandant to treat his newly arrived guests. They obtained guns, and other munitions in the Fort, and on the 28th of November 1729, they scattered themselves abroad, in the different houses of the inhabitants, taking care always to be in greater numbers than their victims, and remarking that they were going to hunt. They carried their dissimulation to such an extent, that they actually chanted a hymn in praise of M. de Chepar, when all at once there was silence, three shots of musketry were fired, which were the signals for a general onslaught. The savages rushed furiously on the French, and in this dreadful massacre, two hundred of them fell victims to the treachery and dissimulation of their perfidious enemies. But about twenty were saved, and one hundred and fifty children, and sixty women were made prisoners. In this frightful encounter, there were instances of bravery, amongst the French, which Charlevoix has not

failed to mention. M. de la Loire des Ursins killed four Indians by his own hand, and the clerks in his store bravely defended themselves, until the last man was killed. The Natchez lost only twelve men, in this affair, so well were all the preparations made for the general massacre.

During the engagement, "the Sun," or the Chief of the Natchez was seated near a tobacco-warehouse,* belonging to the Company of the Indies, awaiting patiently the termination of this tragedy. At intervals, the heads of those who had fallen, were brought and placed at his feet, amongst others, that of M. de Chepar, the person in command of the garrison. The bodies of the victims were suffered to remain without burial, and became the prey of vultures and dogs, whilst the women and children who had been taken prisoners, were exposed to the cruelty of these ferocious savages, and having suffered every indignity, were finally sent into the interior, to become the slaves of neighbouring tribes.

Such was the massacre of the French, of the 28th of November 1729. The Abbe Raynal, gives a rather different account of this massacre, from that of Charlevoix—both however agree in the main facts, but I prefer the latter, for the reason, I have already assigned.

* Some authors say, "on the roof of the tobacco warehouse."

Of course, De Perrier exercised summary vengeance against the perpetrators of this horrid butchery. He notified the people, at the different French settlements to be on their guard, and sent an expedition against the Natchez, whom he compelled to surrender, and who with their Chief, "*the Sun*," were sent into captivity.

We have thus detailed, as we believe, almost every leading event in the history of the discovery of the valley of the Mississippi, up to the passing of the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle in the year 1748.

Shortly after this period, the leading events on this Continent have been mentioned, in connection with the name and services of our ancestors, the Anglo Americans, on the shores of the Atlantic. To their achievements is the world indebted for the progress of that civilization, which is daily extending throughout the length and breadth of this Continent. To the heroic conduct and intrepid bearing of those men, who followed Colonel Pepperel to the gates of Louisbourg, was the Anglo Saxon of America, partly indebted for the expulsion of the French from their strong-holds in this Western hemisphere, and to the still nobler conduct and glorious career of the "FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY," was he indebted for their expulsion from the Valley of the Mississippi. Whilst the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle

commemorates the achievements of the one, that of Fontainebleau, sheds glory and lustre on the actions of the other. Their memories will forever be cherished in the hearts of their countrymen, and their images, like those of the warriors of old, will be placed in the vestibule of the domestic sanctuary, there to remain, as memorials of the past, and as an encouragement for the future.

THE FIRST INHABITANTS OF KENTUCKY AND TENNESSEE.

PRIOR to our arrival at Marietta, we met one of these settlers, an inhabitant of the environs of Wheeling, who accompanied us down the Ohio, and with whom we travelled for two days, alone in a canoe from eighteen to twenty feet long, and from twelve to fifteen inches broad, he was going to survey the borders of the Missouri, for a hundred and fifty miles beyond its *embouchure*. The excellent quality of the land, that is reckoned to be more fertile there, than that on the borders of the Ohio, and which the Spanish Government, at that time, ordered to be distributed *gratis*, the quantity of bears, elks, and more especially bisons, were the motives that induced him to emigrate into this remote part of the country, whence, after having determined on a suitable spot to settle there with his family, he was returning to fetch them from the borders of the Ohio, which obliged him to take a journey of fourteen or fifteen hundred miles; his costume like that of all the American sportsmen, consisted of a waistcoat with sleeves, a pair of pantaloons, and a large red and yellow worsted sash, a

carbine, a tomahawk or little axe, which the Indians make use of to cut wood and to terminate the existence of their enemies, two beaver snares and a large knife, suspended at his side, constituted his sporting dress. A rug comprised the whole of his baggage. Every evening he encamped on the banks of the river, where after having made a fire, he passed the night; and whenever he conceived the place favorable for the chase, he remained in the woods for several days together, and with the produce of his sport, he gained the means of subsistence, and new ammunition, with the skins of the animals that he had killed.

Such were the first inhabitants of Kentucky and Tennessee, of whom there are now remaining but very few. It was they, who began to clear those fertile countries, and wrested them from the savages, who ferociously disputed their right; it was they, in short, who made themselves masters of the possessions, after five or six years bloody war; but the habit of a wandering and idle life has prevented their enjoying the fruit of their labours, and profiting by the very price, to which these lands have risen in so short a time. They have emigrated to more remote parts of the country and formed new settlements. It will be the same with most of those, who inhabit the borders of the Ohio. The

same inclination that led them there, will induce them to emigrate from it. To the latter will succeed fresh emigrants, coming also from the Atlantic States, who will desert their possessions to go in quest of a milder climate and a more fertile soil. The money, that they will get for them will suffice to pay for their new acquisitions, the security of which will be assured by a numerous population. The last comers instead of log houses, with which the present inhabitants are contented, will build wooden ones, clear a greater quantity of the land, and be as industrious and persevering in the amelioration of their new possessions, as the former were indolent of every thing, being so fond of hunting. To the culture of Indian corn, they will add that of other grain, hemp and tobacco; rich pasturages will nourish innumerable flocks, and an advantageous sale of all the country's produce will be assured them, through the channel of the Ohio.

The happy situation of this river entitles it to be looked upon as the centre of commercial activity between the Eastern and Western States. By it, the latter receive the manufactured goods, which Europe, India and the Caribbees supply the former; and it is the only open communication with the ocean, for the exportation of provisions from the immense and fertile parts

of the United States, comprised between the Alleghany mountains, the lakes and the left banks of the Mississippi.

All these advantages, blended with the salubrity of the climate and the beauty of the landscapes, enlivened in the spring by a group of boats, which the current whirls along with astonishing rapidity, and the uncommon number of sailing vessels, that from the bosom of this vast continent go directly to the Caribbees; all these advantages, I say, make me think, that the banks of the Ohio from Pittsburg to Louisville inclusively, will in the course of twenty years, be the most populous and commercial part of the United States, and where I should settle, in preference to any other.

(F. A. Michaud, Travels on the Ohio, etc, 8 vo. London, 1805.)

AN AMERICAN BACKWOODSMAN, DURING THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

THROUGHOUT all this country, and in every back settlement, in America, the roads and paths are first marked out by *blazees* on the trees, cut alternately on each side of the way, every thirty or forty yards; these are removed every time the roads are repaired. A *blazee* is a large chip sliced off the side of a tree with an axe; it is above twelve inches in length, cut through the bark and some of the sap wood, and by its white appearance and brightness when fresh made, serves to direct the way in the night as well as in the day.

The miles are chiefly computed and are ascertained by notches, chopped in the nearest tree; a notch for every mile. The first *blazeed* paths originated in this manner, when any person went from one place to another through the woods, where it would have been difficult if not impossible, to return upon his track, he fell upon this method of blazing each side of the trees, at certain distances, as he passed on, and thereby retraced his way in returning without the least trouble.

The convenience and simplicity of this mode has rendered it universal, throughout the whole back country.

It became the more readily adopted as all who travel beyond the roads and beaten tracks, always have a tomahawk to their belts ; which in such situations and circumstances, are more useful than anything, except the rifle-barrelled firelocks, both of which all the male inhabitants habituate themselves constantly to carry along with them everywhere.

Their whole dress is also very singular, and not very materially different from that of the Indians ; being a hunting shirt, somewhat resembling a wagoner's frock, ornamented with a great many fringes, tied round the middle with a broad belt, much decorated also, in which is fastened a tomahawk, an instrument, that serves every purpose of defence and convenience ; being a hammer at one side, and a sharp hatchet at the other ; the shot bag and powder horn, carved with a variety of whimsical figures and devices, hang from their necks over one shoulder ; and on their heads, a flapped hat, of a reddish hue, proceeding from the intensely hot beams of the sun.

Sometimes they wear leather breeches, made of Indian dressed elk, or deer skins, but more frequently thin trousers. On their legs, they have Indian boots or leggings,

made of coarse woollen cloth, that are either wrapped round loosely and tied with garters, or are laced upon the out-side, and always come better than half way up the thigh; these are a great defence and preservative, not only against the bite of serpents and poisonous insects but likewise against the scratches of thorns, briars, scrubby bushes and underwood, with which this whole country is infested and overspread. On their feet, they sometimes wear light shoes of their own manufacture, but generally Indian moccasins of their own construction also, which are made of strong elk's or buckskins, dressed soft as for gloves or breeches, drawn together in regular plaits over the toe, and lacing from thence round to the fore-part of the middle of the ancle, without a seam in them, yet fitting close to the feet, and are indeed perfectly easy and pliant.

Thus habited and accoutred, with his rifle upon his shoulder or in his hand, a backwoodsman is completely equipped for visiting, courting, travelling, hunting or war. And according to the number and variety of the fringes on his hunting shirt, and the decorations on his powder horn, belt and rifle, he estimates his finery, and absolutely conceives himself of equal consequence, more civilized, polite and more elegantly dressed, than the most brilliant Peer at the Court of St. James', in a

splendid and expensive birth-day suit, of the first fashion and taste and most costly materials. Their hunting or rifle shirts, they have also dyed in a variety of colors, some yellow, others red, some brown and many wear them quite white.

Thus attired and accoutred, as already described, set him in the midst of a boundless forest, a thousand miles from an inhabitant, he is by no means at a loss, nor in the smallest degree dismayed. With his rifle, he procures his subsistence; with his tomahawk he erects his shelter, his wigwam his house, or whatever habitation, he may choose to reside in; he drinks at the chrystal spring or the nearest brook; his wants are all easily supplied, he is contented, he is happy! For felicity beyond doubt, consists in a great measure, in the attainment and gratification of our desires, and the accomplishment of the utmost bounds of our wishes.

(J. F. D. Smyth, *Tour in the United States*, etc. 2 vols. 12mo. Dublin, 1784.)

FIRST SETTLEMENT

OF THE

STATE OF OHIO.

THE first purchase of land in the State of Ohio, after the Indian title was extinguished, was made by the Ohio company. On the 27th of November, 1787, Congress made and executed a contract with the agents of the Ohio company, for the sale of one million and a half of acres, at the price of one million of dollars, to be paid for in final settlement securities. This tract, was bounded on the east by a line called the seventh range which had been previously run; southerly on the Ohio river; westerly on the seventeenth range of townships, and to extend so far north, that a line running east to the first boundary, should contain, exclusive of the reservations, the quantity of land contracted for.

The first regular settlement of this State commenced in the year 1789. A party of about sixty men from New-England, under the superintendence of General Rufus Putnam, and hired and paid by the company, arrived at the mouth of the Muskingum on the 7th of April, and immediately began to clear the land on the eastern side of the river. In the month of August,

eight families had arrived, who inhabited the temporary buildings, erected for their accommodation, on that pleasant and commanding situation, where the beautiful and thriving town of Marietta now stands. In the course of the autumn more arrived, so that, at the beginning of June, 1790, there were twenty families on the ground.

It was the intention of this company, among whom were many of the officers of the revolutionary army, to have made a rapid settlement, but the Indians beginning to commit depredations, checked the emigration from the Atlantic States. In the winter of 1791, several persons in the out settlements were killed, and others taken prisoners. The people were obliged to erect posts of defence at Bellepre and at Wolf Creek. Marietta was strongly stockaded, and the inhabitants lived in a garrison state, until after the victory gained by General Wayne, on the 20th of August, 1794.

Soon after the Ohio company had made this purchase, another contract was made with Congress by Col. John C. Symmes, for a tract of land supposed to contain about one million of acres, lying within the following limits: beginning at the mouth of the Great Miami river, and thence running up the Ohio to the mouth of the Little Miami river; thence up the main stream of

the Little Miami to the place where a due west line, to be continued from the western termination of the northern boundary line of the grant made to the Ohio company, shall intersect the said Little Miami river; thence due west, continuing the said western line to the Great Miami river; thence down the Great Miami to the place of beginning.

Settlements commenced in the autumn of 1789, on this tract, under the direction of Col. Symmes, principally by emigrations from the State of New Jersey. But the settlers here were subjected to embarrassment similar to those of the Ohio company, in consequence of the Indian war. The settlement made little progress until after the conquest of General Wayne, and the treaty with the Indians, in the succeeding year.

Not long after the commencement of these settlements, another of considerable magnitude was begun, on a tract of land, called the Connecticut Reservation, situated on the north-east corner of the State, and bounded east by the Pennsylvania line, on the north by Lake Erie, and extending westward as far as Sandusky lake. These settlers came principally from the State of Connecticut.

These were the first settlements undertaken on a large scale, within the limits of the State of Ohio, but made

little progress until after the close of the Indian war.

Another very considerable settlement commenced, in 1796, on a tract of land, called the Virginia Reservation, situated between the Scioto and Little Miami rivers. This land was located by army warrants, granted originally to the troops of the Virginia line of the revolutionary army. A part of the settlers were from Virginia, but far the greatest number from the State of Kentucky. The town of Chillicothe was began in the autumn of this year (1796,) and so rapid was the increase of inhabitants that it was made an incorporate town in about five years. The Territorial Assembly of the representatives of the people convened in this town for several years, and it continued the seat of government until 1809, when, by an act of Assembly, it was moved to Zanesville on the river Muskingum.

On the 13th of April, 1802, the people were authorized, by an act of Congress, to form a constitution and State government, and were accordingly admitted into the Union upon the same footing with the original States. By the same act, the boundaries of the State were established on the following lines, viz: "Beginning on the east by the Pennsylvania line; on the south by the Ohio river to the mouth of the Great Miami

river; on the west by a line drawn due north from the mouth of the Great Miami; and on the north by an east and west line drawn through the southerly extremes of lake Michigan, running east, after intersecting the due north line aforesaid, from the north of the Great Miami, until it shall intersect lake Erie, or the territorial line, and thence with the same through lake Erie, to the Pennsylvania line aforesaid.”

CINCINNATI AT THE COMMENCEMENT

OF THE

PRESENT CENTURY.

“CINCINNATI is handsomely situated on a first and second bank of the Ohio, opposite Licking river. It is a flourishing town, has a rich, level, and well settled country around it. It contains about four hundred dwellings, an elegant court house, jail, three market houses, a land office for the sale of Congress lands, two printing offices issuing weekly Gazettes, thirty mercantile stores, and the various branches of mechanism are

carried on with spirit. Industry of every kind being duly encouraged by the citizens, Cincinnati is likely to become a considerable manufacturing place. It is eighty-two miles north by east from Frankfort, and about three hundred and eighty by land south southwest from Pittsburgh, north latitude thirty-nine degrees, five minutes, fifty-four seconds, according to Mr. Ellicot, and west longitude eighty-five degrees, forty-four minutes. It is the principal town in what is called Symmes's purchase, and is the seat of justice for what is called Hamilton county, Ohio. It has a bank issuing notes under the authority of the State, called *The Miami Exporting company*. The healthiness and salubrity of the climate; the levelness and luxuriance of the soil; the purity and excellence of the waters, added to the blessings attendant on the judicious administration of mild and equitable laws; the great security in the land titles; all seem to centre in a favourable point of expectation, that Cincinnati and the country around it, must one day become rich and very populous, equal perhaps, if not superior to any other place of an interior in the United States. The site of Fort Washington is near the centre of the town. It was a principal frontier post; it is now laid out in town lots. A considerable trade is carried on between Cincinnati and New Orleans in keel

boats, which return laden with foreign goods. The passage of a boat of forty tons down to New Orleans is computed at about twenty-five, and its return to Cincinnati at about sixty-five days.”

(Topographical description of the Ohio, &c., anonymous, 12 mo. 1812.)

SAINT LOUIS

AT THE COMMENCEMENT

OF THE PRESENT CENTURY.

“FIFTEEN miles below the mouth of the Missouri, is Saint Louis, delightfully situated on elevated ground, upon the bank of the Mississippi. It is considered to be the most healthy and pleasant situation known in this part of the country. The settlement of this village was began by a few French people, who came over from the east side of the river, about the year 1765. It became the residence of the Spanish Commandant, and of the principal Indian traders. The trade of the Indians on the Missouri, part of the Mississippi, and Illinois, was chiefly drawn to this village. Before the

purchase of Louisiana by the United States, it contained one hundred and twenty houses, mostly built of stone, but large and commodious dwellings. It contained about eight hundred inhabitants, who were mostly French. Since this purchase was made, numbers have emigrated to this village from different parts of the United States. There are now more than two hundred houses, a post office, and a printing office, issuing a Weekly Gazette. There are many mercantile stores, and a flourishing trade in furs and peltry. It is made the seat of territorial government for Upper Louisiana.”

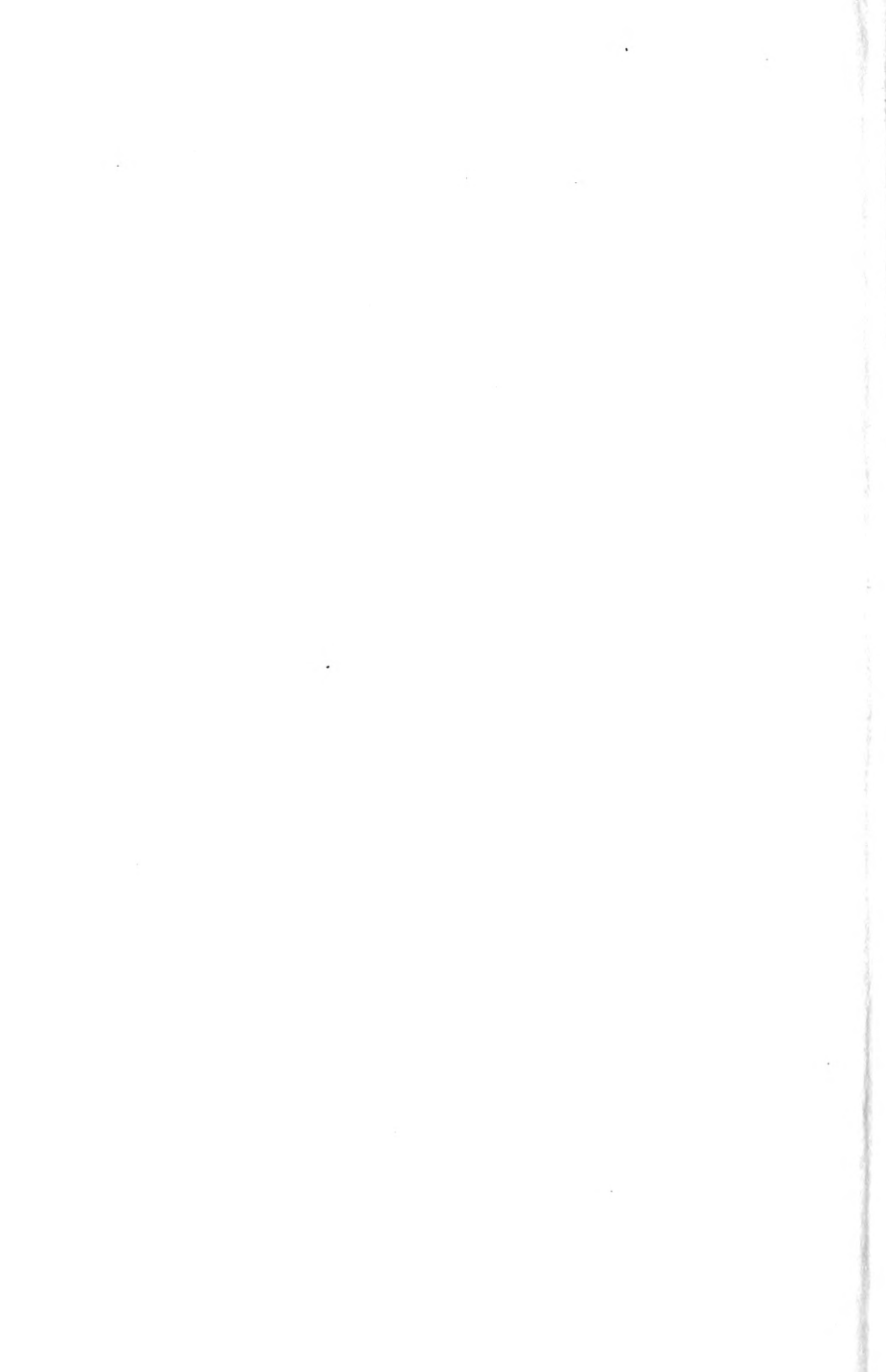
NATCHEZ AT THE COMMENCEMENT

OF THE

PRESENT CENTURY.

“THE city of Natchez is about one hundred and twenty miles below the Walnut hills. It is situated on an extremely elevated bank, which recedes from the river, with a very moderate descent. Fronting the river, the bluff is nearly perpendicular, and two hundred

feet in height, from the surface of the water. Between the base of the bluff and the river, is a space which is level, about six hundred feet wide; it is used for landing; and is spread over with dwellings, trading houses and shops. From this little village a road is dug out, in a zigzag form, to the summit of the bank. The city is built at some distance from the edge of the precipice, leaving a space for a handsome common. It contains more than three hundred houses, mostly frame, and one story high. Some of those more recently erected are two story and in a handsome style. The houses generally are commodiously constructed for transacting business, and the free admission of air in the hot season. The prospect from the city is delightful; commanding an extensive view of the river in both directions. There are two printing offices, issuing weekly papers; a post office, receiving a mail once a week; several mercantile houses, and a large number of smaller stores and shops. Great quantities of cotton, indigo, tobacco, and other commodities, are annually shipped from this city, where the accumulation of wealth is pursued with industry and ardour. It is a port of entry, and ships of four hundred tons can come up from New Orleans, which is about three hundred miles, without any other obstruction than the strength of the current."



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